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REVIEW

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY

JOHN G. ROBERTSON

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CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

PAGE

ARMSTRONG, E., Dante in Relation to the Sports and Pastimes of his Age	173, 302
BALDENSPERGER, F., Thomas Moore et A. de Vigny	290
BANG, W., 'Memorandums of the Immortal Ben'	111
BRADLEY, A. C., Notes on Passages in Shelley	25
BRADLEY, H., Some Textual Puzzles in Greene's Works	208
CHAYTOR, H. J., Giraut de Bornelh: 'Los Apleitz'	222
CROSLAND, J., A German Version of the Thief-Legend	55
DEROCQUIGNY, J., Lexicographical Notes	188
DOWDEN, E., A Pamphlet by Bishop Berkeley (Hitherto Undescribed)	286
GREG, W. W., The Authorship of the Songs in Lyly's Plays	43
HATFIELD, J. T., Newly Discovered Political Poems by Wilhelm Müller	212
JACKSON, W. W., On the Interpretation of 'Pareglío' in Dante	116
KASTNER, L. E., Some Old French Poems of the Antichrist, I.	269
McKERRROW, R. B., Notes on the 'Devil's Charter' by B. Barnes	126
MOORMAN, F. W., The Pre-Shakespearean Ghost	85
MOORMAN, F. W., Shakespeare's Ghosts	192
RENNERT, H. A., Notes on Some Comedias of Lope de Vega	96
ROBERTSON, J. G., The Knowledge of Shakespeare on the Continent at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century	312
SKEAT, W. W., Provençal Words in English	283
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, Notes on the 'Devil's Charter' by B. Barnes	124
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, Shakespeariana	53
SMITH, G. GREGORY, Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature	1
SWAEN, A. E. H., Notes on the 'Devil's Charter' by B. Barnes	122
THOMAS, P. G., Notes on the Language of 'Beowulf'	202
TOYNBEE, PAGET, English Translations of Dante in the Eighteenth Century	9
YOUNG, A. B., Shelley and M. G. Lewis	322

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

GREG, W. W., Jonson's 'Staple of News'	327
LITTLEDALE, H., 'A Headless Bear'	232
LITTLEDALE, H., 'Deep Pathaires'	233
LOGEMANN, H., 'To set spell on end'	325
ONIONS, C. TALBUT, 'Merry Greek'	231
SCHAAFFS, G., Gotisch 'Bijandzup pan'	328
SIMPSON, P., 'Deep Pathaires'	326
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, Seneca, Jonson, Daniel and Wordsworth	232
SWAEN, A. E. H., Fielding and Goldsmith in Leyden	327

REVIEWS.

PAGE

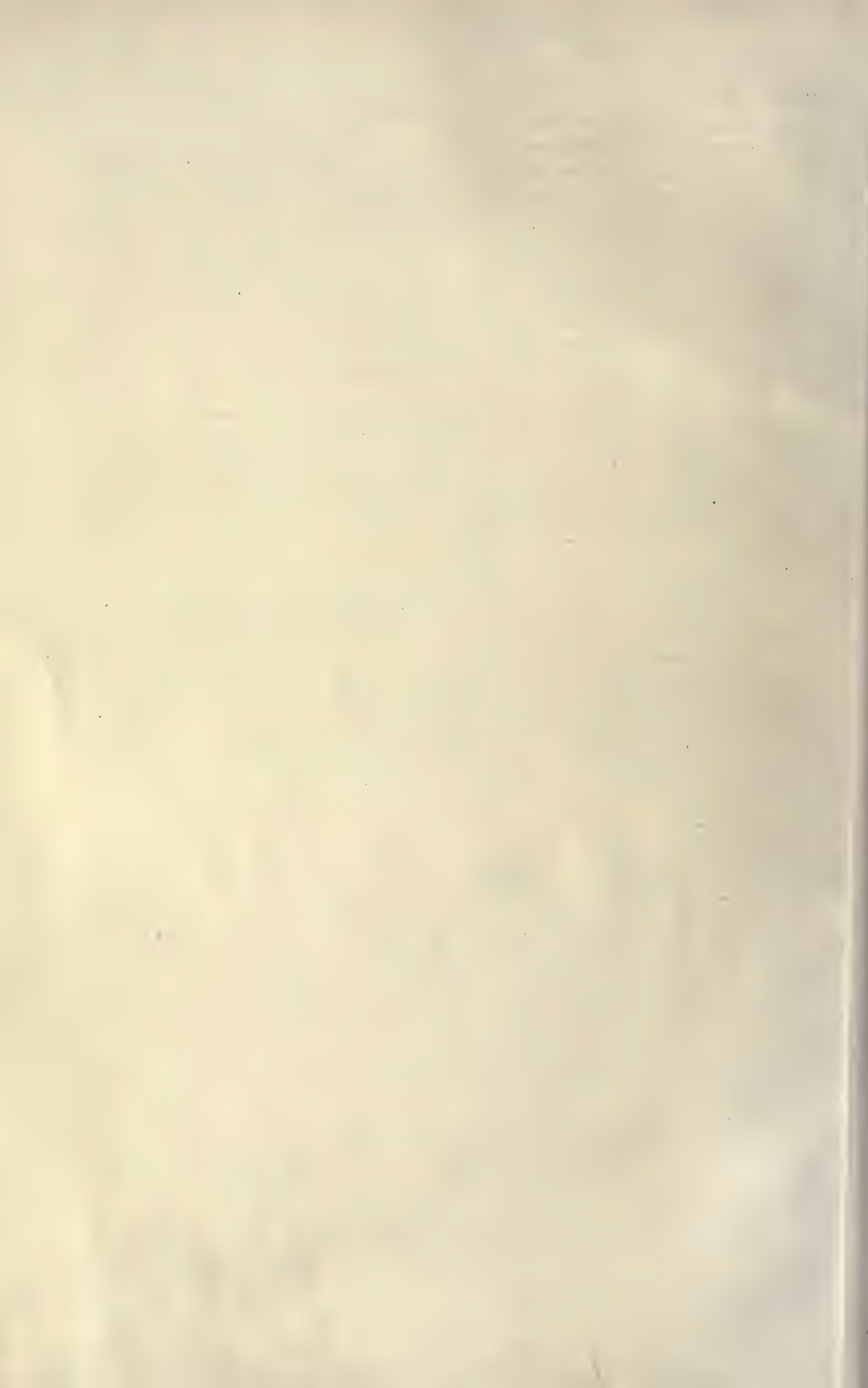
Barnes, B., <i>The Devil's Charter</i> , ed. by R. B. McKerrow (W. W. Greg)	139
Berger, K., <i>Schiller</i> , I. Band (J. G. Robertson)	151
Blake, W., <i>The Lyric Poems of</i> , ed. by J. Sampson (G. Gregory Smith)	343
Blake, W., <i>The Poetical Works of</i> , ed. by J. Sampson (G. Gregory Smith)	343
Bradley, A. C., <i>Shakespearean Tragedy</i> (C. H. Herford)	128
Breymann, H., <i>Calderon-Studien</i> , I. Teil (J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly)	64
Brooke, S. A., <i>On Ten Plays of Shakespeare</i> (G. C. Moore Smith)	334
Brückner, A., <i>Geschichte der russischen Literatur</i> (W. R. Morfill)	259
Calvert, A. F., <i>The Life of Cervantes</i> (H. Oelsner)	352
Capelli, L. M., <i>Tavole riassuntive della Divina Commedia</i> (L. Ragg)	258
Chapman, G., <i>Bussy D'Ambois and the Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</i> (W. W. Greg)	141
Chiappelli, A., <i>Della Trilogia di Dante</i> (L. Ragg)	256
Cowley, A., <i>The Poems of</i> , ed. by A. R. Waller (G. C. Macaulay)	145
Crescini, V., <i>Manualetto provenzale</i> (G. A. Parry)	160
Dante Alighieri, <i>Tutte le Opere di</i> , rivedute da E. Moore (L. Ragg)	73
Dante Alighieri, <i>La Divina Commedia</i> , per cura di R. Fornaciari (L. Ragg)	257
Dante's <i>Divina Commedia</i> , transl. by H. F. Tozer (L. Ragg)	158
Dante Alighieri, <i>The Purgatorio of</i> , transl. by C. G. Wright (L. Ragg)	160
Dekker, Th., <i>Old Fortunatus</i> , ed. by O. Smeaton (W. W. Greg)	138
<i>Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters</i> , I. und IV. Band (R. Priebsch)	66
Emerson, O. F., <i>A Middle English Reader</i> (H. Littledale)	133
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J., <i>Cervantes in England</i> (H. Oelsner)	258
Flamini, F., <i>Avviamento allo studio della Divina Commedia</i> (L. Ragg)	258
Franz, W., <i>Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeares</i> (A. Mawer)	342
<i>Gospels of St John, St Matthew and St Mark in West-Saxon</i> , ed. by J. W. Bright (R. W. Chambers)	252
Grandgent, C. H., <i>Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal</i> (H. J. Chaytor)	353
Greene, R., <i>The Plays and Poems of</i> , ed. by J. C. Collins (W. W. Greg)	238
Hare, Ch., <i>Dante the Wayfarer</i> (L. Ragg)	255
Heller, O., <i>Studies in Modern German Literature</i> (R. M. Meyer)	348
Hume, M., <i>Spanish Influence on English Literature</i> (H. Oelsner)	351
Jespersen, O., <i>Growth and Structure of the English Language</i> (A. Mawer)	234
Johannson, A., <i>Phonetics of the New High German Language</i> (R. A. Williams)	345
Jonson, Ben, <i>Bartholomew Fair</i> , ed. by C. S. Alden (W. W. Greg)	142
Jonson, Ben, <i>Eastward Hoe and the Alchemist</i> , ed. by F. E. Schelling (W. W. Greg)	141
Jonson, Ben, <i>Poetaster</i> , ed. by H. S. Mallory (W. W. Greg)	142
Jonson, Ben, <i>The Staple of News</i> , ed. by De Winter (W. W. Greg)	143
Jonson, Ben, <i>Underwoods</i> (P. Simpson)	251
Keats, J., <i>The Poems of</i> , ed. by E. de Sélincourt (A. R. Waller)	148
Koepfel, E., <i>Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker</i> (W. W. Greg)	140
Massinger, Ph., <i>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</i> , ed. by G. Stronach (W. W. Greg)	138
Melchior, F., <i>Heines Verhältnis zu Lord Byron</i> (J. Lees)	153
Müller, F. Max, <i>The German Classics</i> (J. G. Robertson)	349

REVIEWS *cont.*

	PAGE
Noyes, E., <i>The Casentino and its Story</i> (L. Ragg)	351
Ochsenbein, W., <i>Die Aufnahme Lord Byrons in Deutschland</i> (J. Lees)	153
Paris, G., <i>Histoire poétique de Charlemagne</i> (R. Weeks)	353
Pedantius, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (F. S. Boas)	235
Peele, G., <i>The Arraignment of Paris</i> , ed. by O. Smeaton (W. W. Greg)	138
Perrett, W., <i>The Story of King Lear</i> (F. W. Moorman)	72
Prior, M., <i>The Writings of</i> , ed. by A. R. Waller (G. Gregory Smith)	343
Return from Parnassus, <i>The</i> , ed. by O. Smeaton (W. W. Greg)	138
Robertson, J. M., <i>Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?</i> (W. W. Greg)	337
Scartazzini, G. A., <i>Dantologia</i> (3a edizione) (L. Ragg)	257
Scherer, W., <i>A History of German Literature</i> , transl. by F. C. Conybeare (J. G. Robertson)	349
Schiller, F. von, <i>Sämtliche Werke. Säkular-Ausgabe</i> (J. G. Robertson)	150
Schlegel, A. W. und F., <i>Athenaeum</i> , hrsg. von F. Baader (R. M. Meyer)	154
Sheldon, E. S. and A. C. White, <i>Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante</i> (P. Toynbee)	155
Squyr of Lowe Degre, <i>The</i> , ed. by W. E. Mead (F. Sidgwick)	72
Tarozzi, G., <i>Teologia Dantesca</i> (L. Ragg)	257
Thomas, A., <i>Nouveaux Essais de philologie française</i> (L. M. Brandin)	253, 356
Thompson, E. N. S., <i>The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage</i> (W. W. Greg)	144
Webster, J., <i>The White Devil and the Duchess of Malfy</i> , ed. by M. W. Sampson (W. W. Greg)	141
Williams, W. H., <i>Specimens of Elizabethan Drama</i> (W. W. Greg)	137, 356
Wilson, A., <i>The Swisser</i> , publié par A. Feuillerat (W. W. Greg)	140
Wilson, J. D., <i>John Lyly</i> (A. Feuillerat)	330
Woodbridge, E., <i>Studies in Jonson's Comedy</i> (W. W. Greg)	142
Worke for Cutlers, ed. by A. F. Sieveking (W. W. Greg)	138

MINOR NOTICES.

Bausteine	78
Betz, L. P., <i>La littérature comparée</i>	77
Bibliotheca romanica, 1—10	164
Cambridge English Literature	261
Chabaneau, <i>Festschrift for Professor</i>	261
D'Ovidio, F., <i>Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio</i>	355
Gaehde, Chr., <i>David Garrick als Shakespeare-Darsteller</i>	76
Goethe's <i>Faust</i> , transl. by A. Swanwick, ed. by K. Breul	163
Ker, W. P., <i>Essays in Medieval Literature</i>	161
Koch, M., <i>Geschichte der deutschen Literatur</i>	355
Le Breton, A., <i>Balzac, l'homme et l'oeuvre</i>	76
Literarischer Verein in Wien	164
Molière Collection in Harvard College, Catalogue of the	355
Oswald, E., <i>The Legend of Fair Helen</i>	354
Pepys, S., <i>The Diary of</i> , ed. by G. Gregory Smith	162
Société des Textes français modernes	78
Spingarn, J. E., <i>La Critica letteraria nel Rinascimento</i>	75
Wolter, E., <i>Lietuviška Chrestomatija II</i>	163
Wordsworth, W., <i>Literary Criticism</i> , ed. by N. C. Smith	162
Wordsworth, W., <i>Poems and Extracts chosen by</i>	162



SOME NOTES ON THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

THE late M. Gaston Paris, in an address to the literary section of the *Congrès d'Histoire comparée*, in July 1900, laid it down that there are two branches in the comparative study of literature, 'two kinds which have different aims, methods, and results.' He distinguished the first as the comparison of subjects and forms in the literatures of different peoples, the seeking out of points of contact between these different orders of work, and the discovery beneath individual and national characteristics of certain common and international elements. The second he defined as a science associated with folklore, mythology, comparative mythology, which lies outside literature proper, and is interested in the problem of the parallelism of material in different nations, as we find it, for example, in the great corpus of the *Fabliaux*. Its function is not primarily to attempt to solve the difficult question whether such repetition is but the varied expression of the *identité foncière* of the human spirit or is to be traced by different channels to a single source, but to devote itself to the observation of these parallelisms, wherever they appear, and to note carefully their modifications. In this way, he added, the second branch links itself to the æsthetic comparison of literatures.

This scheme appears to be—let it be said with all respect—inadequate. It deals with what may be called the 'historical' aspect of the subject; and, though it is more philosophical than M. Brunetière's, it entirely neglects the critical matters with which the comparative method must concern itself, if it is to reach to its higher purpose.

On what we may call, from want of a better name, the 'historical' side of the subject we are asked to deal with (1) the antiquarian and genealogical facts of authorship, (2) the common elements in national literatures, and (3) the folklore bases. In the first of these are grouped the valuable studies on the influence of individual authors and books on other authors and books, or even upon nations: the specific effects of

2 Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature

such a work as the *Roman de la Rose* upon mediæval literature, or of Richardson on later French literature, or of Richter on Carlyle—problems of varying extent and difficulty, but all essentially ‘bibliographical.’ They presuppose actual contact—one is the result of another, or is conditioned by it: and therefore the examination of their relationship is of the nature of genealogy. To this category belong the excellent monographs of M. Texte and, despite his claim to generalities, M. Brunetière. The second section deals with the parallelisms in European literatures which are of wider expression and cannot be explained by borrowed passages, the Stationers’ Register, or the Biographical Dictionaries, and which, it should be added, may or *may not* be due to contact between all or any of them. In this class we find, say, the fifteenth century identities in the Drama, or in its poetic *neiges d’antan*; or the phases of Marinism, Gongorism, Euphuism, in so far as they are unexplained by such direct influences as that of Guevara upon his literary cousins in England. The third section has small claim to recognition, for folklore, as M. Paris admits, is not a matter of literature in any but the loosest acceptance of that word, even if to say so be not a contradiction in terms. Yet folklore is always being dragged in, especially in the controversies which are waged round the prehistoric ‘crowder.’

M. Paris’s two branches are completely represented in these three sections, and in the second and third rather than the first. His *allocation* to the Congress had an air of novelty. He referred directly to M. Brunetière’s inaugural address, and, while admitting that it was excellent so far as it went, demanded an extension of its survey. A moment’s reflection will show that M. Paris was justified in thinking that he had strayed from the beaten track. For ‘Comparative Literature,’ as the accepted estimate goes, is almost exclusively concerned with antiquarian and genealogical matters. M. Brunetière in all his work, from the *Évolution des Genres* to occasional articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and most emphatically in his inaugural address to the Paris Congress, has shown that he has a fine enthusiasm for this particular branch of a great subject. It would be folly to decry its importance, or even to suggest that it should be pursued less assiduously by him and by others who have worked to such good purpose. It must always claim the largest share of the energy of ‘comparative’ students: it will certainly be always necessary as a preliminary stage in the development of literary history and criticism. But the fault of its professors has been, as M. Paris seems to hint, to make it exclusive.

There is no doubt that this concentration of interest in antiquarian research is responsible for the most serious objections which have been and still are urged against the ultimate value of the comparative method in literary study. In the first place, it is certainly true that some critics have gone to their task as a bookseller goes to his Brunet or Lowndes, or as a searcher of title-deeds to the public registers. Too often it would appear that, in the tracing of the influence of a book, literary genius goes for nothing, and writers are no better than mediæval copyists. We have beautiful tables of descent, as rigid, but not so convincing, as the spider-webs of a 'foreword' on Chaucer MSS.; cause and effect resting upon a risky date or some unsworn memoir; not a suspicion that the direct influence of one book upon another has been generally of the slightest. Hence the ordinary man of literary taste suspects the comparative expert. Secondly, a literary family-tree, even if correct, allows small scope for enthusiasm, for individual appreciation, or for critical audacity. The historian thinks of his author as an academic naturalist does of his orders and types. He has no pets; above all, if he would be something of a critic, he is no sportsman. He is looked upon as the irreconcilable enemy of the impressionist, who hates the law of primogeniture. Thirdly, the comparative specialist delights overmuch in the lower levels of literature: he will linger, for example, in the 'dull' fifteenth century or in the 'bankrupt' eighteenth, so that, free from the dazzle of genius, he may the better expound and 'prove' the tradition of form and *motif*. It would be easy to meet these objections. They are stated merely to show that, however exaggerated they may be, they have a certain measure of excuse as an 'impressionist' estimate of the narrow purpose of the exponents of the comparative method. There is not a little logic on the side of the objectors, for it may be asked how can a method which is exclusively concerned in observing and classifying those things which are known to be related to each other obtain any 'critical' results beyond what the mere statistician has the right to expect? Hence it is that those who have a sincere delight in literature for its own sake, or those critics who have a mission to the wayward taste of the reading mob, look upon 'Comparative Literature' in all its parts as the province of the antiquary or of the dilettante who affects foreign tongues.

The situation however is entirely altered when we recognise, as we now must, that these studies in the evolution of certain book-habits are only a small part of the function of 'Comparative Literature.' If instead

4 *Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature*

of the connexion between individual books or phases we substitute the connexion and development of critical ideas, we have at once greater possibilities for the comparative student. If we call this second branch—and here again we are in distress for want of a better name—the ‘critical,’ we mean thereby that it is concerned with fundamental doctrines of criticism, just as the so-called ‘historical’ group is concerned with the main facts in the ‘social’ history of individual works. It deals with the intricate problems in the history of the dogmas of criticism, it examines the phases of interaction and parallelism, and as a consequence, as logical as apparent, supplies some practical guidance in the interpretation of modern work and in the everyday exercise of literary taste.

It is indeed strange that criticism, as a technical and academic matter *per se*, should be so persistently excluded from the comparative laboratory. There is evidence now, that the younger schools of critics are being attracted, but they are as yet few when taken with the bulk of avowed ‘comparative’ students. Even in a professional congress such as that at Paris how many of the members of the literary section were interested in things of deeper import than the influence of Italy on Du Bellay, or of *Zaïre* upon Italy? There are many who would give the last word on Neo-classicism or on the *Querelle* with admirable parochial enthusiasm: so many who forget that criticism is based upon comparison¹, and that a general deduction or an ‘I like this’ is valuable or not only according to the utterer’s claim to be heard, that is, to his breadth of view. There is no incurable antipathy between the impressionist and the comparative critic, for personal liking, though never itself criticism, may be the most pleasing and convincing of things when it comes from experience.

We may take for granted that this extension of the comparative method is of first importance in the interpretation of critical doctrine. It is more to the purpose to offer some general considerations which arise out of this, and to show how the method may help us to a better understanding of the function of literary criticism.

In the first place, the comparative method emphasises the *positive*

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that academic criticism was, in its earlier stages, strictly comparative. The evidence of Greece and Rome is clear on this point; and sixteenth century Italy, the birthplace of the new criticism, worked by this method and passed on the lesson to the rest of Europe. Example and Comparison were of course essential to Classicism, with its doctrine of the Model, the Ancients, &c., but there the main purpose was the collection of material and precedents for the establishment of a literary Canon. The application of the Method to individual experience and effort has been left to the Moderns.

side of criticism—the unity of literature rather than the differences, or, let us say, the unity in the differences. It searches for what is common (not necessarily by contact or infusion), and would help us to reach the fundamental ideas in the history of *motif* and form. In the case of the latter its thesis is not so much to expose the varieties of the formal presentation of any given ‘topic’ as to show how these express an underlying common and, it may be, permanent principle. And if we look at the matter from a slightly different point of view, may we not say that it helps the critic to find, and through him the reader to enjoy, what Aristotle taught us to understand by the Universal in literary art? For what is the common and continuous element which it seeks out in literature but that quality of the Universal which, as distinct from Idiosyncrasy, is the inspiration and end of Art? Nay more, it looks for what of this may be found in decadent ages and forgotten places, where neither the impressionist nor the critic with a reputation deigns to tarry. It is perhaps unnecessary to commend the paradox of the superior usefulness of the dull times in literary history: it may here suffice to say that that method which aids criticism to discover the elemental and positive facts at all stages of artistic effort, and especially in epochs of lesser popular account, is an instrument of obvious efficiency in reading the story of literary taste.

In the second place, the method is an antidote to that mere Darwinism which rises so easily, and delusively, from an antiquarian interest in letters, or from an exaggerated delight in scientific classification. It is not concerned with the statement of so-called literary ‘laws’: indeed it tends to disprove the analogies which an unreasonably ‘scientific’ age borrows so readily from the Weather Bureau or the physical laboratory. We are helped to understand, for example, not that romanticism follows classicism like the rotation of crops, or that the one is a superior artistic condition to the other, or that they are mutually exclusive, but rather that they have so much in common, and always co-exist in the highest art. Or again, not that there is any interconnexion between the various forms of the early drama of the fifteenth century (an assumption less true than false), but that the likeness is the expression of a literary and histrionic necessity. Or again, not that the identity of and difference between the eighteenth century in England and the seventeenth in France are to be explained as we have been taught by the critical genealogists, but rather by the postulate that direct borrowing did not take place except in an accidental and subsidiary way. In other words while, on the one hand, the

6 *Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature*

narrow view of the comparative method takes cognisance of a subject *because* there is a certain amount of evidence of reciprocity, on the other hand, the truer approach to this particular problem will be with the conviction that a greater or less reciprocity is not the major premiss, and *may* be quite immaterial. It is of course necessary, as a preliminary clearing of the ground, to estimate the extent of direct interaction: but this is neither the whole duty nor even the chief duty of the 'comparative' student. We may go further and risk the proposition that the more interaction there is, the less opportunity have we of reaching the fundamental principles, not merely because the give-and-take distracts us more and more towards the trimmings and externals, as the history of 'Comparative Literature' too well shows, but because the material of observation is correspondingly reduced.

Again, this method supplies the only philosophical explanation of the critical bases of the history of literature, and of the working formulæ which guide the historian in his synthesis. We refer to such problems as are suggested by the phenomenon of 'curtailment' in literary form, shown, for example, in the fifteenth century, in the breaking up of the great romances of the Middle Ages into ballad episodes and tales of incident, in the bursting of the dramatic cycles, in the change of fashion from the long-drawn craftsmanship of Lefranc or Lydgate to the shorter style of Villon, or Santillana, or Dunbar: or, to take another illustration, by the idea of 'historical perspective' in criticism, which occasionally amused the sixteenth century, interested the seventeenth, and became a convention of the later eighteenth. These and a dozen other searching questions suggested in general terms by Aristotle, Longinus, or Dante, and in more particular form in the critical wisdom of Dryden or Johnson, are the proper concern of 'Comparative Literature' in its widest acceptance. Till these things are well considered, if not satisfactorily solved, the literary historian will remain an empiric, concluding bravely by the 'cobweb-law' of chronology¹.

Lastly, the method emphasises the literary qualities of a work. It has been justly charged against the narrower criticism that it is apt to forget the 'literature' of a book in the interest in its genesis and history. This is still more true of our work-a-day judgments and of the exercise of popular taste generally, where in nine cases out of ten we admire the non-literary elements which masquerade in the name of art. We need not search long, even among the more

¹ Dryden, *Dedication of the Æneis*.

reputable 'appreciations' of modern literature, to find how much the prejudices of history, society, religion, or race have defined the pleasure of a work, and make it a 'masterpiece.' Even when the critic has with all honesty divorced himself from personal liking and disliking, when he says, 'I hate A, but A's book is clever and useful, and I shall say so,' it is not seldom because his victim has quietly made his peace with him by a common interest in something altogether outside the categories of letters. The prejudice is so protean, so subtle—shall we say so incurable?—that any method which can alleviate it is of immense value. Literature is perhaps in this respect in worse plight than pictorial art. There are fewer picture-gazers in our exhibitions who delight in canvasses because they are portraits of their heroes or of the village pump of their boyhood, than there are readers who take kindly to certain novels because they are Scots, or Canadians, or Oxford Rationalists. And this will always be so, till criticism comes with a wider experience, and gives to these well-meaning people a truer touchstone of literary pleasure.

Perhaps, too, this experience may make it yet clearer that it is but academic quackery to enlarge upon the absolute progression of literary ideas and craftsmanship. The notion comes naturally to the complacent egoism of an age which is giddy with the triumphs of science and industrial energy. But analogy is not proof, and Art is not a measurable thing like the Standard of Comfort or the speed of locomotives. A more effective comparison of ages, as well as of peoples and groups and individuals, would have a wholesome influence on the condescension of modern criticism. When a writer brings forward his working formula that an author must be judged by his age and circumstance, the excuse for the past is in reality an unconscious compliment to the present. Cæsar praised the Gauls, but added that he conquered them. In the realm of Ideas and Art Cæsar's confidence is unavailing. The new cannot subjugate the old. What is a 'classic' but that which has never been surpassed?

It is tempting, but the occasion will not allow, to enlarge on the bearing of this academic discussion on the more practical side of literary criticism. If we entered on this theme we should begin by disclaiming all intention to reform the conditions of everyday reviewing, which though probably not quite so bad as they might be, cannot be expected ever to be better. But even in these popular places the reflex influence, if not the direct training, of the 'comparative' student might help to lessen embarrassment in the presence of the new, the strange, the

8 *Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature*

unique in literature. And, above all, it might demonstrate that the expert, as we know him, is not seldom the least competent to meddle with pure literature or literary taste—that the most absolute pundit may be but a village politician in the imperial matters of criticism. We may not forget that Aristotle, who is still our true specialist in everything, was a specialist in nothing.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF DANTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

NOT from the days of Chaucer to the reign of George I. could English literature boast of a translation, properly so called, of any portion of the *Divina Commedia*. Mere incidental versions of a few lines here and there may be found, it is true, in several of the numerous translations of Italian works which were issued from the press in England during the sixteenth century¹; while, in the next century, Milton, in his treatise *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline*, tried his hand at a rendering of a single *terzina* from the *Inferno*. But not till 1719, when the 'great Cham of literature' was ten years old, and the author of the *Elegy* was already out of leading-strings, did the first translation from Dante, produced avowedly as a translation, make its appearance in the English world of letters. In that year was published 'at the Black Swan in Pater-noster-row' a volume entitled 'Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. II. An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur. Both by Mr *Richardson*.' The author of this work was Jonathan Richardson, the elder, portrait-painter and poetaster, who, if Horace Walpole (one of his sitters²) is to be believed, 'after his retirement from business, amused himself with writing a short poem, and drawing his own or his son's portrait, every day³.'

In the second of the two Discourses, of which the full title, as set out on a separate title-page, is 'A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur,' Richardson introduces a reference to the story of Count Ugolino. Of this story, as being 'very Curious and very little Known,' he gives a summary from the Florentine History of Giovanni Villani. He then continues:—

¹ See *English Translations from Dante (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)*, by Paget Toynbee, in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I, pp. 345—365.

² Richardson's portrait of Horace Walpole (now in the possession of Earl Waldegrave) is reproduced in Vol. II of Mrs Paget Toynbee's edition of the *Letters of Horace Walpole*.

³ *Anecdotes of Painting* (ed. 1888), Vol. II, p. 277.

'The Poet carries the Story farther than the Historian could, by relating what pass'd in the Prison. This is *Dante*, who was a young man when this happened, and was Ruin'd by the Commotions of these times. He was a *Florentine*, which City, after having been long divided by the *Guelf*, and *Ghibelline* Faction, at last became entirely *Guelf*: But this party then split into two others under the Names of the *Bianchi*, and the *Neri*, the Latter of which prevailing, Plunder'd, and Banish'd *Dante*; not because he was of the Contrary Party, but for being Neuter, and a Friend to his Countrey.

*When Virtue fails, and Party-heats endure
The Post of Honour is the Least Secure.*

This great Man (in the 33d Canto of the 1st part of his *Comedia*) in his Passage thro' Hell, introduces Count *Ugolino* knowing the Head of his Treacherous and Cruel Enemy the Archbishop, and telling his own sad Story. At the appearance of *Dante*

La bocca solleuò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, etc.'

Richardson then gives a translation of the passage (seventy-seven lines in the original) in blank verse, which, if not very poetical, is at any rate fairly faithful—for an age in which Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer were the standards of translation. The following is a specimen—*Ugolino* speaks:—

The hour was come when Food should have been brought,
Instead of that, O God! I heard the noise
Of creaking Locks, and Bolts, with doubled force
Securing our Destruction. I beheld
The Faces of my Sons with troubled Eyes;
I Look'd on them, but utter'd not a Word:
Nor could I weep; They wept, *Anselmo* said
(My little dear *Anselmo*) What's the matter
Father, why look you so? I wept not yet,
Nor spake a Word that Day, nor following Night.
But when the Light of the succeeding Morn
Faintly appear'd, and I beheld my Own
In the four Faces of my Wretched Sons
I in my clenched Fists fasten'd my Teeth:
They judging 'twas for Hunger, rose at once,
You Sir have giv'n us Being, you have cloath'd
Us with this miserable Flesh, 'tis yours,
Sustain your Self with it, the Grief to Us
Is less to Dye, than thus to see your Woes.
Thus spake my Boyes: I like a Statue then
Was Silent, Still, and not to add to Theirs
Doubled the weight of my Own Miseries.

The next specimen is by a literary hack, one Pierre Desmaizeaux, the son of a French Protestant minister,—'one of those French refugees,' says Isaac D'Israeli of him, 'whom political madness or despair

of intolerance had driven to our own shores. The proscription of Louis XIV., which supplied us with our skilful workers in silk, also produced a race of the unemployed, who proved not to be as exquisite in the handicraft of bookmaking¹. Desmaizeaux, whom Warburton describes² as a 'verbose, tasteless Frenchman,' was a *protégé* of Halifax and of Addison, and through the interest of the latter obtained a pension, 'like his talents, very moderate,' on the Irish establishment. He afterwards enjoyed the double distinction of having one of his books burned in Dublin by the common hangman, and of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He became a translator of Dante by the merest accident. In 1735 he published an English edition of Bayle's Dictionary, in which he undertook to furnish translations of all 'the quotations from Eminent Writers in various Languages.' In his article on Dante Bayle quotes about a dozen passages from the *Divina Commedia*, and these Desmaizeaux has rendered into rhymed couplets, in what he no doubt intended to be the style of Pope—hardly an appropriate vehicle for Dante. Here is his rendering of twelve lines (91—102) from the twenty-third canto of the *Purgatorio*:—

The widow'd Charmer, who my Bed did Share
Merits by Virtue Heaven's peculiar Care;
Who chastly lives amidst a wanton Race,
Lewder than those *Sardinia's* Coasts embrace.
What shall I say? Hope rises in my Breast,
And to my Sight the future stands confess'd.
I see reform'd the Ladies of the Town,
And Pulpits preach each wanton Fashion down.

Of a very different character was the author who next entered the field. This was the poet Gray, the third on the roll of English poets³, to whom Dante was an object of 'lungo studio e grande amore,' and who undoubtedly was more intimately acquainted with the works of the great Florentine than any other Englishman of the eighteenth century. Gray, like Richardson, selected for translation the Ugolino episode from the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*. His version, which remained in manuscript for more than a hundred years after his death, was, like his translation from Tasso, composed probably as an exercise at the time when, as he writes to his friend, Richard West (in March, 1737), he was 'learning Italian like any dragon.' Mr Gosse, who first printed the piece⁴, thinks it 'extremely fine,' and assigns it to Gray's best period. More sober critics rate it less highly⁵. As the work of

¹ *Curiosities of Literature* (ed. 1866), Vol. III, p. 14.

² In a letter to Dr Birch.

³ His predecessors having been Chaucer and Milton.

⁴ *Works of Thomas Gray* (ed. 1884), Vol. I, pp. 157—160.

⁵ See *Gray and Dante*, by the President of Magdalen College, Oxford (Mr T. H. Warren), in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1901.

a poet and a scholar of Gray's reputation it must be confessed that the performance is decidedly disappointing. That Gray himself had no great opinion of the piece may be gathered from the fact that he did not consider it worthy of publication. The following may be compared with Richardson's rendering of the same passage given above:—

Now the Hour

Of timely Food approach'd ; when at the Gate
 Below I heard the dreadful Clash of Bars,
 And fast'ning Bolts : then on my Children's Eyes
 Speechless my Sight I fix'd, nor wept, for all
 Within was Stone : they wept, unhappy Boys !
 They wept, and first my little dear Anselmo
 Cried, Father, why, why do you gaze so sternly ?
 What would you have ? yet wept I not, or answer'd
 All that whole Day, or the succeeding Night
 Till a new Sun arose with weakly Gleam,
 And wan, such as mought Entrance find within
 That House of Woe. But oh ! when I beheld
 My Sons, and in four Faces saw my own
 Despair reflected, either Hand I gnaw'd
 For Anguish, which they construed Hunger ; straight
 Ariseing all they cried, far less shall be
 Our Suffering, Sir, if you resume your Gift ;
 These miserable Limbs with Flesh you cloath'd ;
 Take back, what once was yours. I swallow'd down
 My struggling Sorrow, not to heighten theirs.

An interesting experiment in Dante translation was published anonymously in 1746, in Robert Dodsley's *Museum : Or, The Literary and Historical Register*, in the shape of '*The Three First Stanzas of the 24th Canto of Dante's Inferna [sic] made into a Song. In imitation of the Earl of Surry's Stile*' :—

I.

When in the opening of the youthful Year,
Sol in *Aquarius* bathes his glistening Ray ;
 In early Morn the Fields all white appear,
 With hoary Frost is cover'd every Spray :
 And every Herb and every Grass is shent,
 All in the Chill Imprisonment ypent.

II.

The mean-clad Swain, forth issuing from his Cot,
 Looks sadly all around the whitening Waste ;
 And grieves that his poor Sheep, by Heaven forgot,
 Can find no Food, no tender Green to taste :
 He beats his Breast as one distract, or mad ;
 And home returns, with pensive Look and sad.

III.

There silent grieves. Then once again looks out,
 And sees the Groves and Meads quite alter'd are.
 The Sun has cast his melting Rays about,
 And every Green appears more fresh and fair.
 Then Hope returns, and Joy unknots his Brows,
 And forth he leads his Flock the tender Grass to brouze.

IV.

Thus when my Fair One views me with Disdain,
 My Heart is sunk within me, sad and dead;
 My Spirits yield, and all my Soul's in Pain;
 I sit and sigh, and hang my drooping Head:
 But if she smile, my Sadness melts away,
 Each gloomy Thought clears up, and I'm all blithe and gay.

Whatever may be thought of his choice of a metre, it must be admitted that the unknown author of these graceful stanzas has very successfully caught the spirit of the original; while his translation, all things considered, is remarkably close—the substitution of his ‘Fair One’ for Dante’s Virgil is pardonable under the circumstances. The success of this experiment might fairly, we think, be used as a fresh argument in favour of the adoption of some form of stanza for the translation of the *Divina Commedia* into English¹. *Terza rima* appears to be out of the question as an English metre, at any rate for the purposes of translation. No English writer, save one or two of our earlier poets,—not even Shelley, nor Byron—has shown himself to be really at home in the handling of this metre². Consequently, if the rhyme of the original is to be represented at all, as it assuredly should be, some such expedient as the above would seem to be the best way out of the difficulty.

The Rev. Joseph Warton, then recently appointed second master of Winchester College, who next tried his hand at Dante, solved the problem in his own way, by taking refuge in prose. In that ‘very pleasing book,’ as Dr Johnson styled it³, the *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, the first volume of which was published in 1756, Warton instances the story of Ugolino, as told by Dante, in support of his contention that ‘events that have actually happened, are, after all, the properest subjects for poetry.’ For the benefit of those of his readers who should not be acquainted with Italian, he supplies a version of the story in his own words. ‘I cannot recollect,’ he says, ‘any passage, in any writer whatever, so truly pathetic’; and, to make sure that none of the pathos shall be missed, he adds: ‘It was thought not unproper to distinguish the more moving passages by Italics.’ He then proceeds:—

‘Ugolino is giving the description of his being imprisoned with his

¹ That Dante may be successfully rendered in this way is proved by the admirable version of the *Purgatorio* in Marvellian stanzas published a few years back by Charles Lancelot Shadwell:—*The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri. An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation*, 1892–1899.

² Some may be inclined to make an exception in favour of the late Canon Dixon’s *Mano*, which is, perhaps, the most successful attempt of the kind.

³ See Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, p. 153).

children by the Archbishop Ruggieri. "The hour approached when we expected to have something brought us to eat. But, instead of seeing any food appear, *I heard the doors of that horrible dungeon more closely barred*. I beheld my little children *in silence*, and could not weep. My heart was petrified! The little wretches wept; and my dear Anselm said, *Father, you look on us! what ails you?* I could neither weep nor answer, and continued swallowed up in silent agony all that day, and the following night, even till the dawn of day. As soon as a glimmering ray darted through the doleful prison, that I could view *again those four faces, in which my own image was impressed, I gnawed both my hands* with grief and rage. My children believing I did this through eagerness to eat, raising themselves suddenly up, said to me, *My father! our torments would be less, if you would allay the rage of your hunger upon us*. I restrained myself, that I might not encrease their misery...."

It is a relief to turn from this truly pedestrian performance to another anonymous specimen, which appeared in the *British Magazine, or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies*, for the year 1760. The author is supposed to have been William Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, son of a notorious Warden of the Fleet Prison. A dispute between Huggins and Thomas Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, concerning Ariosto, gave occasion to one of Dr Johnson's caustic remarks. 'Huggins,' relates Boswell¹, 'attempting to answer with violence Mr Warton's account of Ariosto, said, "I will *militate* no longer against his *nescience*."' Huggins was master of the subject, but wanted expression. Mr Warton's knowledge of it was then imperfect, but his manner lively and elegant. Johnson said, "It appears to me, that Huggins has ball without powder, and Warton powder without ball." The passage translated by Huggins is Dante's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, at the beginning of the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio*. Huggins, who evidently piqued himself on the faithfulness of his version, succeeded in rendering the original line for line—a rare achievement in an eighteenth century translator.

Dante, Il Purgatorio

Canto 11

Sicut meus mos,

As literally as possible.

Our Father blest, who art in Heav'n above,
Not circumscrib'd; but thro' consummate love,

¹ *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, pp. 528—9).

Which to those primal essences you bear,
 Thy name be hallowed; thy power rare,
 By ev'ry creature: as it is but meet,
 All thanks be render'd to thy effluence sweet:

Advance to us the peace of thy wish'd reign,
 As, of ourselves, to that we can't attain,
 If it comes not, with all our skill humane.

As, in the heav'ns, thy angels of their will
 Make sacrifice, and sing Hosanna still,
 So, may on earth, mankind thy law fulfil.

Our daily manna give to us this day,
 Without it, thro' this wild and thorny way,
 Who strives to travel, will more backward stray.

And, like as we those wrongs, which we receive,
 In others pardon, so thy pardon give
 Benignant: nor survey our merit small,
 And feeble virtue, so propense to fall,
 Suffer not our old enemy to tempt;
 But from his punctures keep us still exempt.

Amen.

William Huggins has been somewhat unkindly treated by the fates in the matter of Dante. At his death he left in manuscript a complete translation of the *Divina Commedia* (of which the above is supposed to be a specimen), with directions that it should be published. A clause in his will¹ runs as follows:—'I give to my Worthy Friend the Revd. Mr Thomas Monkhouse, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxon., the Sum of Fifty pounds on condition, and with full persuasion that he will, to the best of his abilities, superintend an edition of the Dante, and Annotations, with all matters thereto belonging, lately translated and compiled by me, in manner and form as he shall judge best, the expenses of the Printing and publication, and all charges relative thereto to be paid by my Executors.' He also had his portrait painted and engraved by Hogarth² (whose friend and patron he was), with the names of Dante and Ariosto in the background, to serve as a frontispiece to his Dante. Hogarth's portrait of Huggins is still in the possession of his family; but his wishes with respect to his Dante seem to have been wholly disregarded by his executors (who were his sons-in-law, and inherited his estates)—at any rate the translation was never published, and Huggins has thus been deprived of the credit of having been the first to make a complete English translation of the *Divina Commedia*,—a distinction which is commonly claimed on behalf of the Rev. Henry Boyd, whose version was not published till more than forty years after Huggins' death.

¹ Kindly supplied by one of his descendants.

² According to William Stewart Rose (*Introduction to Orlando Furioso*) Huggins is the person who figures in Hogarth's picture as the Enraged Musician.

We now return once more to the Ugolino episode, of which yet another version appeared in 1773. This was by Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, *ci-devant* gamester and boon companion of Charles James Fox—best known to fame, perhaps, as the kinsman and guardian of Lord Byron, who dedicated to him the second edition of his *Hours of Idleness*, and afterwards savagely lampooned him in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*:—

No muse will cheer, with renovating smile,
The paralytic puling of Carlisle.
The puny schoolboy and his early lay
Men pardon, if his follies pass away;
But who forgives the senior's ceaseless verse,
Whose hairs grow hoary as his rhymes grow worse?

Lord Carlisle, the productions of whose muse, whatever Byron may have chosen to think of them—he owned later¹ that he had done his kinsman 'some wrong'—earned the praise of two such differently constituted critics as Dr Johnson² and Horace Walpole, printed his translation privately in the first instance in 1772. Walpole, writing to William Mason from Strawberry Hill on May 25 of that year, says:—

'Lord Carlisle has written and printed some copies of an Ode on Gray's death. There is a real spirit of poetry in it, but no invention; for it is only a description of Gray's descriptions. There are also two epitaphs on Lady Carlisle's Dog, not bad, and a translation from Dante of the story of Count Ugolino, which I like the least of the four pieces.'

This volume, which is a slim quarto of seventeen pages, was not published till the next year, when the Ugolino was also separately printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The following is a specimen of the translation, which is in rhymed couplets, and anything but literal:—

Through the small opening of the prison's height
One moon had almost spent its waning light.
It was when Sleep had charm'd my cares to rest,
And wearied Grief lay dozing in my breast:
Futurity's dark veil was drawn aside,
I in my dream the troubled prospect eyed.
On those high hills it seem'd, (those hills which hide
Pisa from Lucca,) that, by Sismond's side,
Guland and Landfranc, with discordant cry,
Rouse from its den a wolf and young, who fly
Before their famish'd dogs; I saw the sire
And little trembling young ones faint and tire,
Saw them become the eager blood-hounds' prey,
Who soon with savage rage their haunches flay.
I first awoke, and view'd my slumbering boys,
Poor hapless product of my nuptial joys.
Scar'd with *their* dreams, toss o'er their stony bed,
And starting scream with frightful noise for bread.

¹ In the third canto of *Childe Harold*.

² See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, pp. 570, 619—20).

A second prose version of this now hackneyed episode was published in 1781, in the third volume of Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*. It was evidently based upon that of his brother, Joseph Warton, already quoted, and is, if possible, even more banal. The introductory paragraph contains one gem which is worth reproducing:—'The poet wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the Damned gnawing the skulls of each other, which was their daily food!' Thomas Warton also attempted a version of the inscription over the gate of Hell, in the third canto of the *Inferno*, in which, owing to a mistranslation, he has perpetrated a 'bull' of the first order:—

'By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain (!). Put away all hope, ye that enter!'

The next specimen has a special interest of its own, as being the first attempt in English to translate Dante in the metre of the original². The author of this experiment was William Hayley, of whom Southey said that 'everything about that man is good except his poetry.' His translation, which consists of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, was published in 1782, among the notes to the third Epistle of his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. In his introductory remarks Hayley says:—

'We have several versions of the celebrated story of Ugolino; but I believe no entire canto of Dante has hitherto appeared in our language... The Author flatters himself that the ensuing portion of a celebrated poem may afford some pleasure from its novelty, as he has endeavoured to give the English reader an idea of Dante's peculiar manner, by adopting his triple rhyme; and he does not recollect that this mode of versification has ever appeared before in our language: it has obliged him, of course, to make the number of translated lines correspond exactly with those of the original.'

In claiming to have been the first to adopt the 'triple rhyme' in English poetry Hayley shows himself ignorant of the fact that Chaucer, Wyatt, Surrey, and Milton all wrote English poems in *terza rima*—though not all in imitation of Dante³.

¹ Ed. 1824, Vol. iv, p. 63.

² With the exception of the first three lines of the *Inferno* translated by Sir John Harington in the *Allegorie of the Fourth Booke* of his *Orlando Furioso*.

³ Wyatt and Surrey borrowed the metre from Alamanni rather than from Dante.

We give Hayley's rendering of part of the third canto:—

And lo! towards us, with a shrivell'd skin,
 A hoary boatman steers his crazy bark,
 Exclaiming, 'Woe to all ye sons of sin!
 Hope not for heaven, nor light's celestial spark!
 I come to waft you to a different lot;
 To Torture's realm, with endless horror dark:
 And thou, who living view'st this sacred spot,
 Haste to depart from these, for these are dead!'—
 But when he saw that I departed not,
 In wrath he cry'd, 'Thro' other passes led,
 Not here, shalt thou attempt the farther shore;
 But in a bark to bear thy firmer tread.'—
 O Charon, said my Guide, thy strife give o'er;
 For thus 'tis will'd in that superior scene
 Where will is power. Seek thou to know no more!—

* * * *

Charon, with eyes of fire and words of gall,
 Collects his crew, and high his oar he wields,
 To strike the tardy wretch who slights his call.
 As leaves in autumn thro' the woody fields
 Fly in succession, when each trembling tree
 Its ling'ring honors to the whirlwind yields;
 So this bad race, condemn'd by Heaven's decree,
 Successive hasten from that river's side:
 As birds, which at a call to bondage flee,
 So are they wafted o'er the gloomy tide;
 And ere from thence their journey is begun,
 A second crew awaits their hoary guide.—

In the same year (1782) as Hayley published this experiment, which is by no means without merit, there appeared in the second volume of Dr Charles Burney's *History of Music* a rendering of about thirty lines of the second canto of the *Purgatorio*. It is introduced *à propos* of a mention of the musician Casella, 'whom Dante feigns to have met in Purgatory.' 'There is something,' says Dr Burney, 'in the description of this imaginary rencontre so simple and affectionate, that I cannot help wishing to convey an idea of it to the English reader:—

On me when first these spirits fix their eyes
 They all regard me with a wild surprise,
 Almost forgetting that their sins require
 The purging remedy of penal fire:
 When one of these advanc'd with eager pace,
 And open arms, as me he would embrace;
 At sight of which I felt myself impell'd
 To imitate each gesture I beheld.
 But vain, alas! was every effort made.
 My disappointed arms embrace a shade:
 Thrice did vacuity my grasp elude,
 Yet still the friendly phantom I pursued.
 My wild astonishment with smiling grace
 The spectre saw, and chid my fruitless chace

The voice and form, now known, my fear suspend,
 O stay, cried I, one moment with thy friend!
 No suit of thine is vain, the vision said,
 I lov'd thee living, and I love thee dead.
 But whence this haste?—Not long allowed to stay,
 Back to the world thy Dante takes his way.
 Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain
 If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs restrain,
 Some song predominant o'er grief and woe
 As once thou sung'st above, now sing below;
 So shall my soul releas'd from dire dismay
 O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.
 Casella kindly deign'd his voice to raise,
 And sung how *Love the human bosom sways*,
 In strains so exquisitely sweet and clear,
 The sound still vibrates on my ravish'd ear;
 The shadowy troops, extatic, listening round,
 Forgot the past and future in the sound.'

This was not Dr Burney's first attempt at translating Dante. It is recorded by Madame d'Arblay, in her *Memoirs of Dr Burney*¹, that after the death of his first wife in 1761, her father, to distract his grief, made a prose translation of the *Inferno*. This translation, which has never been printed, was still in existence in 1832, when Madame d'Arblay, then in her 80th year, published the *Memoirs*.

'During the period of this irreparable earthly blast,' she writes, in the 'broken Johnsonese,' as Macaulay describes it, into which she degenerated towards the close of her life, 'Mr Burney had recourse to the works of Dante, which, ere long, beguiled from him some attention... A sedulous, yet energetic, though prose translation of the *Inferno*, remains amongst his posthumous relics, to demonstrate the sincere struggles with which, even amidst this overwhelming calamity, he strove to combat that most dangerously consuming of all canker-worms upon life and virtue, utter inertness.'

The year 1782 is remarkable in the annals of English Dante literature, as having seen the publication, not only of Hayley's experiment in *terza rima*, and of Dr Burney's version of the Casella episode, but also of the first complete English translation of the *Inferno*. This translation, which was dedicated to Sir Edward Walpole, elder brother of Horace Walpole, was issued anonymously, but the author is known to have been Charles Rogers, Principal Officer of the Customs, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an art collector and virtuoso of considerable repute. Rogers' version, which is in blank verse, is a very poor performance. It is claimed on his behalf that 'he chiefly attended to giving the sense of his author with fidelity; the character of a Poet

¹ Vol. I, pp. 150 ff.

not seeming to have been the object of his ambition¹. But his translation, while entirely devoid of any spark of poetry, has not even the merit of being faithful, as the subjoined specimen, from the fifth canto of the *Inferno* (ll. 88—108), will show. Francesca speaks:—

O mortal Man replete with Grace divine,
 Who in this azure region visit us
 That have defiled with our blood the world,
 If by the universal King we were
 Befriended, we would to him for you pray :
 Since you commis'rate our unhappy lot,
 We're ready to reply to what you ask ;
 Now that the wind is still to favour us.
 The Land where I was born is on the shore
 Plac'd, where the Po and all his rivulets
 Run with their tributes smoothly to the sea.
 Love, which possesses soon a courteous breast,
 Seiz'd on my handsome Paramour, whose loss
 I yet lament, reflecting on the act :
 Love, which will always be by love repaid,
 Caus'd me to that great pleasure in him take,
 Which still possesses me, as you perceive.
 Love brought us both to the like fatal end :
 But Caina him expects who did this deed.

In 1785, three years after the appearance of Rogers' volume, there was published in Dublin a second translation of the *Inferno*. The author was an Irish clergyman, the Rev. Henry Boyd, who seventeen years later published in London a translation of the whole of the *Commedia*—the first complete English version to see the light. Boyd's work, which is written in six-line stanzas, is not so much a translation as a paraphrase, in which it is often difficult to recognize Dante at all. His method, however, seems on the whole to have been acceptable to the critics, one of whom² speaks approvingly of his way of 'dilating the scanty expressions of his author into perspicuous and flowing diction'; while another³ remarks that 'the dulness of Dante is often enlivened by Mr Boyd with profuse ornaments of his own, by which he is rather elevated than degraded.' The following is Boyd's rendering of the famous passage in the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*, in which Ulysses relates the manner of his death:—

Ye wand'ring Shades ! *Laertes'* son behold,
 Who left the lov'd *Circean* bow'rs of old,
 Ere good *Aeneas* bless'd *Caieta's* shore !
 Yet, after all my toils, nor aged sire,
 Nor son, nor spouse, could check the wild desire
 Again to tempt the sea, with vent'rous oar.

¹ See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, III, pp. 256—7.

² In the *Monthly Review*, March, 1805.

³ In the *Critical Review*, March, 1803.

In search of fame I measur'd various climes,
 Still vers'd in deeper frauds and nameless crimes.
 With slender band, and solitary sail,
 I circled round the *Celtiberian* strand :
 I saw the *Sardian* cliffs, *Morocco's* land,
 And pass'd *Alcides'* straits with steady gale.
 The broad Atlantic first my keel impress'd,
 I saw the sinking barriers of the west,
 And boldly thus address'd my hardy crew :
 'While yet your blood is warm, my gallant train,
 Explore with me the perils of the main,
 And find new worlds unknown to mortal view.
 Recall your glorious toils, your lofty birth,
 Nor like the grov'ling herds, ally'd to earth,
 To¹ base despondence quit your lofty claim.'
 They heard, and thro' th' unconquerable band
 My potent words the living ardor fann'd,
 And instant breath'd around the fervent flame.
 With measur'd stroke the whit'ning surge they sweep,
 'Till ev'ry well-known star beneath the deep
 Declin'd his radiant head ; and o'er the sky
 A beamy squadron rose, of name unknown,
 Antarctic glories deck'd the burning zone
 Of night, and southern fires salute the eye.
 Now five successive moons with borrow'd light
 Had silver'd o'er the sober face of night,
 Since first the western surge receiv'd our prow :
 At length a distant isle was seen to rise,
 Obscure at first, and mingling with the skies,
 'Till nearer seen, its shores began to grow.
 A mountain rose sublime above the coast,
 Immeasurably tall, in vapours lost ;
 Where hurricanes for ever howl around.
 Curs'd be the day I saw the dismal shore !
 Accurst the rending sail and faithless oar !
 And curs'd myself that pass'd the fatal bound !
 Trembling I saw the Heav'n commission'd blast
 The canvas tear, and bend the groaning mast ;
 In vain we toil'd the ruin to prevent :
 Thrice round and round the found'ring vessel rides,
 The op'ning plank receiv'd the rushing tides,
 And me and mine to quick perdition sent !

The last, and, in some respects, perhaps, the most characteristic English translation from Dante in the eighteenth century consisted of a rendering in blank verse of the story of Paolo and Francesca, from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, which was accompanied by yet another version (the sixth, as a separate piece) of the Ugolino episode. The author was the eccentric virtuoso, Henry Constantine Jennings, better known as 'Dog Jennings,' from a famous antique marble dog, which he discovered and bought in Rome for a trifle, and afterwards sold at Christie's for a thousand guineas². These translations, which appear

¹ Printed 'No.'

² This dog, of which Jennings remarked, 'a fine dog it was, and a lucky dog was I to purchase it,' was the subject of an entertaining conversation (recorded by Boswell under April 3, 1778) between Johnson and Burke (Globe ed. 1899, p. 443).

to have been made in 1794, were printed in 1798 in a volume entitled *Summary and Free Reflections, in which the Great Outline only, and Principal Features, of several Interesting Subjects, are impartially traced, and candidly examined*. In his introduction Jennings says:—

‘Dante’s Poem of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, is, certainly *Poetry*: and though written at so early and uncultivated a Period as that of the thirteenth Century, is equal to any Thing that could reasonably be expected from so grating a Subject, even at the best Times of modern Literature. It is, however, upon the whole, a painful Undertaking to read it regularly through: for, independent of the manifold Repetition, and uninteresting and extravagant Variation of the same nauseous Descriptions; the principal Object of its Merit, at the Time it was written, consisted in the Satire, aimed against the surviving Reputation of such of his Enemies as were departed during the busiest Period of the Author’s Life, which, considering too the gothic Language it is written in, has by a Lapse of Five Hundred Years, almost precluded any just Claim to its present Power of amusing, if its Reader be not a meer Antiquarian.

‘I except, however, the following Canto, and the consummately pathetic Narrative of Hugolino, with, perhaps, Half a Dozen more short Passages; and it is for the above Reasons, that this Canto only, and the Hugolino, are attempted.

‘The first is comprised in a consistent *ensemble*, and besides the little Novel of Francesca (the most elegant in the whole Piece), it conveys a sufficient Idea of Dante’s Management throughout the Poem. The Hugolino is unique in its kind¹...

Of the translation itself, and of the curious notes by which it is accompanied, the following may serve as samples:—

‘The Fifth Canto of Dante’s Inferno.

In which Virgil is supposed to accompany him, as Mystagogue, down the different Cloisters allotted to the respective Delinquencies of the Damned...

From Hell’s first dreary Mansion, to the next
We now descended: less, but fuller far
Of pungent Woes: for, at its Entrance sat,
Ruthlessly grinning a contemptuous Smile,
Inexorable Minos², dooming right:
For such th’ imposing Terror of his Brow,

¹ Dated ‘Sept. 13, 1794.’

² ‘I have purposely omitted the quaint Idea of his manifesting the Degree of Depth that the Delinquents were respectively condemned to, by the Number of Turns, with which he, at every Sentence passed upon them, entwined his own Body with his tail; being rather shocked to think that so elegant a Poet should have so wantonly given him One, and of such enormous Length as to go so many Times round him.’

That, self-convicted the Delinquents yield,
 Confess their Errors, and obey their Doom.
 At sight of us, Minos, his awfull Task
 Suspending, thus alarm'd mi' affrighted Sense.
 Advent'rous Stranger, wide tho' th' Entrance be,
 Yet, thy Return consider well, and well
 Thy Guide examine: to whom Virgil, thus,
 Retorts th' insulting Caution: Churlish Judge,
 Thy Aid we ask not, for, the mighty Power
 Who our exploring March deigns to direct,
 Not thee alone, but, Fate itself controles:
 Onward we pass in thy Despite....'

When Jennings comes to the episode of Francesca da Rimini he thus renders her account of how she and Paolo were tempted and fell:—

One fatal Day, Amusement all our Aim,
 Alone, and unsuspecting, the sweet Tale
 Of love enthralled, Launcelot was our Theme:
 Oft' by his Suff'rings, were our Tears enforc't,
 Our Countenance impassion'd, and inflam'd,
 Yet, one sole Period, truly was the Cause
 Of our Defeat: the Smile, the heav'nly Smile!
 Of the long lov'd Genevra, when we read;
 Kiss't by her glorious Lover: he, from whom
 Not Death itself cou'd part me, tremblingly
 My trembling Lips impress't, with a like Kiss.
 Pander! the Book, Pander its Writer was:
 That Day we read no more.

The translator's note on this passage is as follows:—

'This melancholy Event seems to be recorded by Dante, with the sole View of illustrating by actual, and then recent Example, the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in private; and still more so, where there already exists an Inclination between the Parties, as in the present Instance.'

Jennings then proceeds:—

'The Reader is now to suppose, that he has laboured through, nearly, thirty-two Cantos of the Inferno...and, that he is now arrived near the End of the last Canto but two, that of the *frozen Region*, where he will be highly gratified for his Trouble, by the transcendently fine and pathetic Narration of Hugolino's earthly Sufferings and condign Vengeance on Ruggiero, Arch-Bishop of Pisa, who had so wantonly been *his* living Tormentor.—I say transcendently fine, for such, it truly is in the Original.

The Narrative of Count Hugolino.

Taken from the end of Dante's 32d Canto of Inferno, and the greater Part of the 33d Canto, and here united so as to form one consistent *Ensemble*.

NOTES ON PASSAGES IN SHELLEY.

THE lines of verse discussed in these Notes are quoted from the text of Mr Hutchinson's edition (*The Complete Poetical Works of Shelley*, Oxford, 1904), and the poems are taken in the order of that edition. A few of the Notes offer interpretations of passages which have been found difficult. The majority deal with textual questions; and as to these I need hardly say that, in offering a conjecture, I do not necessarily imply that, if I were an editor, I should admit it into the text. Some Notes are added on places in the Prose Works.

(1) *The Daemon of the World*, Part i, 78 ff. The Daemon addresses the sleeping Ianthe:

Maiden, the world's supremest spirit
Beneath the shadow of her wings
Folds all thy memory doth inherit
From ruin of divinest things,
Feelings that lure thee to betray,
And light of thoughts that pass away.

For thou hast earned a mighty boon,
The truths which wisest poets see
Dimly, thy mind may make its own,
Rewarding its own majesty,
Entranced in some diviner mood
Of self-oblivious solitude.

It is possible to give a sense to 'rewarding its own majesty,' but I suspect that Shelley wrote 'regarding.' The maiden's mind or 'majestic spirit' (line 98) contains the truths which wisest poets see but dimly, and has only to look into itself to find them. Compare *Queen Mab*, vii. 49—59. The 'supremest spirit' of the first stanza is, I think, the spirit of Ianthe herself.

(2) *Revolt of Islam*, Dedication, vii:

Thou Friend, whose presence on my wintry heart
Fell, like bright Spring upon some herbless plain;
How beautiful and calm and free thou wert
In thy young wisdom, when the mortal chain
Of Custom thou didst burst and rend in twain,

And walked as free as light the clouds among,
Which many an envious slave then breathed in vain
From his dim dungeon, and my spirit sprung
To meet thee from the woes which had begirt it long!

Forman was certainly right, I think, in defending this (the original) punctuation against Rossetti, and in referring 'which' (last line but two) to 'clouds,' and 'his' (next line) to 'slave.' But 'clouds' does not merely mean 'dense atmosphere,' which would not explain 'in vain.' The 'clouds' are clouds of detraction, as in Milton's sonnet to Cromwell. The slaves of Custom abuse Mary for her breach of convention, though they secretly envy her courage.

(3) *Revolt of Islam*, I. xlix, l:

XLIX.

It was a Temple, such as mortal hand
Has never built, nor ecstasy, nor dream
Reared in the cities of enchanted land:
'Twas likest Heaven, ere yet day's purple stream
Ebbs o'er the western forest, while the gleam
Of the unrisen moon among the clouds
Is gathering—when with many a golden beam
The thronging constellations rush in crowds,
Paving with fire the sky and the marmoreal floods.

L.

Like what may be conceived of this vast dome,
When from the depths which thought can seldom pierce
Genius beholds it rise, his native home,
Girt by the deserts of the Universe;
Yet, nor in painting's light, or mightier verse,
Or sculpture's marble language, can invest
That shape to mortal sense—such glooms immerse
That incommunicable sight, and rest
Upon the labouring brain and overburthened breast.

The semicolon at 'Universe' was originally a full-stop, but it has MS. authority, being found in the Bodleian MS. collated by Locock. To Rossetti belongs the credit of first changing the impossible full-stop (a fact which should have appeared in the Oxford edition, for Woodberry's substitution of a semicolon for Rossetti's comma does not affect the sense). But Rossetti made another change, by printing a colon for the full-stop at the end of stanza xlix; and though this change is not confirmed by the MS. it is required by the sense. Forman indeed tries to construe the first lines of l. independently of xlix: 'The proposition seems, "The native home of Genius, girt by the deserts of the Universe. is like what may be conceived," &c.' But this is surely impossible. The passage is confusedly written, but the meaning is clear. Shelley in xlix says the Temple of the Spirit was 'likest Heaven,' etc. Continuing

the sentence in the next stanza, he says the Temple, or 'vast dome,' was like the conception of it formed by a man of genius, who sees this conception rise from the depths of his spirit, though he cannot embody what he sees in language or colour or marble.

(4) *Revolt of Islam*, VI. vii, viii :

VII.

For now the despot's bloodhounds with their prey
Unarmed and unaware, were gorging deep
Their gluttony of death ; the loose array
Of horsemen o'er the wide fields murdering sweep,
And with loud laughter for their tyrant reap
A harvest sown with other hopes, the while,
Far overhead, ships from Propontis keep
A killing rain of fire :—when the waves smile
As sudden earthquakes light many a volcano-isle,

VIII.

Thus sudden, unexpected feast was spread
For the carrion-fowls of Heaven.—I saw the sight—
I moved—I lived—as o'er the heaps of dead,
Whose stony eyes glared in the morning light
I trod ;

Stanza vii. ended with a full-stop until Forman substituted a comma, construing the opening of the next stanza as the second half of a simile. Hutchinson adopts this punctuation, and adds: 'The passage is obscure: perhaps Shelley wrote "*lift* many a volcano-isle." The plain becomes studded in an instant with piles of corpses, even as the smiling surface of the sea will sometimes become studded in an instant with many islands uplifted by a sudden shock of earthquake.' I cannot believe in this very ingenious conjecture ; and, although the repetition of 'sudden' makes Forman's punctuation seem very plausible at first, I incline to think that the original punctuation is right, and that a new sentence is begun in stanza viii. The image of the lighted volcanoes is certainly most naturally taken to refer to the 'rain of fire,' the 'fearful glow of bombs' which 'flares overhead' (stanza iv), each discharge being compared with a volcanic eruption suddenly caused by earthquake. Compare the phraseology italicised in the following stanza from *Marianne's Dream* (1817):

Sudden, from out that city sprung
A light that made the earth grow red ;
Two flames that each with quivering tongue
Licked its high domes, and *overhead*
Among those mighty towers and fanes
Dropped *fire*, as a volcano *rains*
Its sulphurous ruin on the plains.

The position of the words 'when the waves smile' is, on *any* view, very awkward; and their meaning (unless we adopt Hutchinson's suggestion) is far from clear. Perhaps Shelley had in mind a contrast of natural and portentous colour, like that in stanza iv:

For to the North I saw the town on fire,
And its red light made morning pallid now,
Which burst over wide Asia.

Or did he imagine the ships in the bright Propontis each like a volcano-isle in eruption?

(5) *Revolt of Islam*, x. xii:

Peace in the silent streets! save when the cries
Of victims to their fiery judgment led,
Made pale their voiceless lips who seemed to dread
Even in their dearest kindred, lest some tongue
Be faithless to the fear yet unbetrayed;

This ill-written passage has perplexed the commentators, and I do not think either Rossetti or Forman has explained it rightly. 'The fear' is practically equivalent to 'the fearful.' The cries of the victims made pale the lips of their kindred standing by, who seemed to dread lest one or other of the victims should break faith by informing against them,—them who, though full of apprehensions, were as yet safe.

(6) *Revolt of Islam*, x. xlvii:

And, on that night, one without doubt or dread
Came to the fire, and said, 'Stop, I am he!
Kill me!'—They burned them both with hellish mockery.

The interpretations of these lines given by Rossetti and Forman seem quite impossible. The meaning has been pointed out to me by my brother, F. H. Bradley. The orthodox are burning the infidels. One infidel, A, is just going to be burned. Another infidel, B, comes up and says, 'Stop; that is not A; I am A.' The orthodox burn both A and B, and think it an excellent joke.

(7) *Prince Athanase*, Part i. Footnote at conclusion:

'The Author was pursuing a fuller development of the ideal character of Athanase, when it struck him that in an attempt at extreme refinement and analysis, his conceptions might be betrayed into the assuming a morbid character. The reader will judge whether he is a loser or gainer by the difference.'

The received text seems to be 'this difference,' not 'the.' But 'difference' should surely be 'diffidence.' Rossetti made this correction

in his second edition (1878), iii. 241, but he printed Shelley's Note in so odd a place that his correction may well have escaped notice.

(8) *Prince Athanase*, 255—260 :

How many a spirit then puts on the pinions
Of fancy, and outstrips the lagging blast,
And his own steps—and over wide dominions
Sweeps in his dream-drawn chariot, far and fast,
More fleet than storms—the wide world shrinks below,
When winter and despondency are past.

The awkwardness of the parenthesis 'the wide world shrinks below' is avoided in the corrected version deciphered with 'little doubt' by Locock,

Exulting, while the wide world shrinks below,

(9) *Rosalind and Helen*, 536—546 :

With woe, which never sleeps or slept,
I wander now. 'Tis a vain thought—
But on yon alp, whose snowy head
'Mid the azure air is islanded,
(We see it o'er the flood of cloud,
Which sunrise from its eastern caves
Drives, wrinkling into golden waves,
Hung with its precipices proud,
From that gray stone where first we met)
There—now who knows the dead feel nought?—
Should be my grave ;

Surely line 545 should run 'There now—who knows,' etc. The 'now' recalls 'now' in 537, and is contrasted with 'then' in 559.

(10) *Rosalind and Helen*, 612 :

When Liberty's dear paean fell
'Mid murderous howls.

Possibly 'clear paean,' 'clear' being a very favourite word with Shelley, and very easily misread 'dear.'

(11) *Prometheus Unbound*, II. ii, 38 :

Like many a lake-surrounded flute.

This is the reading of Mrs Shelley's editions and of the Bodleian MS. The *editio princeps* (1820) has 'lake-surrounding,' and this might be supported by reference to *Queen Mab*, VI. 5—10. Shelley himself may have written it and then changed it to 'lake-surrounded.'

(12) *Prometheus Unbound*, IV. 165, 168 :

And a heaven where yet heaven could never be. (165)
With the powers of a world of perfect light. (168)

It is necessary to the sense to substitute (with Woodberry) semicolons for the full-stops at the ends of these lines.

(13) *Peter Bell the Third*, VI. xiii:

The Devil then sent to Leipsic fair
For Born's translation of Kant's book;

'Professor Born's Latin translation' of Kant is mentioned in Peacock's *Melincourt*, chap. xxxi. *Melincourt* was published in 1818; and this chapter, which contains the skit on Coleridge (Moley Mystic), seems to have been of use to Shelley here. In it he might have found the joke about 'a pure anticipated cognition' (note to VI. xvi). His 'Fire, which *ex luce praebeens fumum*' (xvii) may be due to Peacock's description of the fire and smoke in Mr Mystic's room. Peacock might even be the 'friend' of xv:

A friend, too, spoke in their dispraise,—
He never read them.

(14) *Peter Bell the Third*, VI. xxix:

'And I and you,
My dearest Soul, will then make merry,
As the Prince Regent did with Sherry,—'
'Ay—and at last desert me too'.

The stanza that follows makes it almost certain, I think, that Hutchinson is right in conjecturally printing the last of these lines as the Soul's answer to Peter. But he has unconsciously reproduced a suggestion to the same effect by Rossetti, who however did not venture to alter the text.

(15) *The Witch of Atlas*, Dedication, i:

How, my dear Mary,—are you critic-bitten
(For vipers kill, though dead) by some review,

Is 'dead' a misprint or miswriting for 'deaf'? Cf. *Adonais*, xxxvi (of the Quarterly reviewer),

What deaf and viperous murderer could crown
Life's early cup with such a draught of woe?

It is true that there is no antithesis in 'kill, though deaf,' but if there is any point in 'kill, though dead' I have missed it.

(16) *Epipsychidion*, 557:

Where secure sleep may kill thine innocent lights;

It is hard to believe that Shelley meant to write 'kill,' though I can suggest no other word.

(17) *Fragments connected with Epipsychidion*, 51 ff.:

Why, if you were a lady, it were fair
 The world should know—but, as I am afraid,
 The Quarterly would bait you if betrayed;
 And if, as it will be sport to see them stumble
 Over all sorts of scandals, hear them mumble 55
 Their litany of curses—some guess right,
 And others swear you're a Hermaphrodite;
 Like that sweet marble monster of both sexes,
 Which looks so sweet and gentle that it vexes
 The very soul that the soul is gone 60
 Which lifted from her limbs the veil of stone.

Probably the editor does best to print this without any alteration; but I feel little doubt that, to give Shelley's meaning, we ought to delete both the comma after 'afraid' (52) and the 'if' in 54, and to regard the whole, from 'but' (52) to the end of 61, as the protasis of an unfinished sentence, the sense of which would be: 'But, since I am afraid..., and since it will be sport to...hear them mumble their curses,—to hear some guess right and others swear you're..., therefore I shall reveal nothing about you.' Rossetti proposed to omit 'if' in 54.

(18) The same, 154 ff.:

What is that joy which serene infancy
 Perceives not, as the hours content them by,
 Each in a chain of blossoms, yet enjoys
 The shapes of this new world, in giant toys
 Wrought by the busy.....

I cannot believe that 'content them by' means 'pass pleasantly by.' 'Them' is probably a miswriting for 'trip' or 'troop' or 'throng' or some such word. Perhaps 'in giant toys' should be 'as giant toys.'

(19) *Triumph of Life*, 99:

All the four faces of that Charioteer
 Had their eyes banded.

The Charioteer is taken, I believe, by most readers to be Time, but it seems more likely from a passage in *Hellas* that he is Destiny. See *Hellas*, 711:

The world's eyeless charioteer,
 Destiny, is hurrying by!

(20). *Triumph of Life*, 128:

All but the sacred few who could not tame
 Their spirits to the conquerors—

If 'conquerors' is right, it will mean men who have dominated others, as in 264. But there is nothing in the context to point to this. The

context shows that the 'sacred few' are those who, like Jesus and Socrates, never yielded to the power of Life. Life, just before (112), has been compared with a 'conqueror' in a Roman Triumph; and so again we have, at 239:

For in the battle Life and they did wage,
She remained conqueror;

and, at 304:

Whither the conqueror hurries me.

It seems almost certain, therefore, that in the present passage 'conquerors' is a mere slip for 'conqueror,' or (less probably) for 'conqueror's' ('spirit' being understood).

(21) *Triumph of Life*, 188 ff.:

'If thou canst, forbear
To join the dance, which I had well forborne!'
Said the grim Feature (of my thought aware).

'I will unfold that which to this deep scorn
Led me and my companions, and relate
The progress of the pageant since the morn;

'If thirst of knowledge shall not then abate,
Follow it thou even to the night, but I
Am weary.'

The third line ran, in the editions of 1824 and 1839, according to Hutchinson:

Said the grim Feature of my thought: 'Aware

(in the edition of 1839 the line ends with a comma: I have not seen that of 1824). Rossetti (1870) printed,

Said the grim Feature (of my thought aware).

And he says the emendation was Browning's. Had Browning then communicated it to Mrs Shelley? For in the edition of 1847 I find

Said the grim Feature, (of my thought aware);

It is a pity, in any case, that Rossetti did not print this semi-colon, or, better still, the comma of 1839; for surely the sentence is continuous down to 'morn,' and we ought therefore, further, to delete the comma after 'canst' and the mark after 'forborne,' and read:

'If thou canst forbear
To join the dance, which I had well forborne,'
Said the grim Feature, of my thought aware,
'I will...

(22) *Triumph of Life*, 265:

Fame singled out for her thunder-bearing minion;

Forman's proposal to omit 'out' is surely right. The misprint is due to 'outlived' in the next line. Shelley, I may add, does not elsewhere use 'out' with 'single.'

(23) *Triumph of Life*, 270 ff.:

'he compelled

The Proteus shape of Nature, as it slept
 To wake, and lead him to the caves that held
 The treasure of the secrets of its reign.
 See the great bards of elder time, who quelled
 The passions which they sung, as by their strain
 May well be known: their living melody
 Tempers its own contagion to the vein
 Of those who are infected with it—I
 Have suffered what I wrote, or viler pain!
 And so my words have seeds of misery—
 Even as the deeds of others, not as theirs.'
 And then he pointed to a company,
 'Midst whom I quickly recognized the heirs
 Of Caesar's crime...

Mrs Shelley, failing, I suppose, to observe or decipher the words

Even as the deeds of others, not as theirs.'
 And then

printed after 'misery' some lines of asterisks, and then the following:

[There is a chasm here in the MS. which it is impossible to fill up. It appears from the context, that other shapes pass, and that Rousseau still stood beside the dreamer, as]

—he pointed to a company,

Garnett restored the missing words from the Boscombe MS., and Forman rightly questioned the 'chasm,' mainly on the ground that 'company' rhymes with 'melody,' 'I,' and 'misery.' This is not only so, but 'theirs' gives the required third rhyme to 'heirs' and 'snares' (285). We may assume, therefore, that there is no chasm. But then there is redundancy: for 'melody,' 'I,' 'misery,' 'company' give four rhymes; and so do 'reign,' 'strain,' 'vein,' 'pain.' It seems likely, then, that, after writing 'I have suffered what I wrote, or viler pain,' Shelley meant to strike out the words between 'known' and 'I,' and to fill up the gap in such a way that 'I' would be the last word of the line beginning 'May well be known.' This would have put the metre right.

(24) *Triumph of Life*, 334:

Like this harsh world in which I wake to weep,

Surely 'woke.' Cf. for the error 296, where Mrs Shelley printed 'comest' for 'camest.'

(25) *Stanzas—April, 1814, 'Away! the moor is dark':*

Duty and dereliction guide thee back to solitude.

Shelley seems to have had a liking, in his youth, for the word 'dereliction,' which he uses to mean 'the state of being abandoned.' Examples will be found in *St Irvyne*, ch. i, par. 4 s.f., and ch. ix, which opens thus: 'Ah! poor, unsuspecting innocence! and is that fair flower about to perish in the blasts of dereliction and unkindness?' See also his letter to his father, Dowden's *Life*, i, 207.

(26) *To ——. 'Yet look on me':*

Mrs Shelley printed these twelve lines in her Note to the Poems of 1817, adding that they were early, though she could not give their date. She called them 'this fragment of a song,' and printed them as three quatrains. Rossetti regarded them, and printed them, as an unfinished sonnet, and his view seems to have been adopted by Dowden (*Life*, i, 422) and Hutchinson. But it may be observed that the first nine lines would form a Spenserian stanza with the Alexandrine reduced, and that the rhyme system then starts afresh, as though a new stanza were beginning. The fragment is evidently a first draft, and it seems likely that a monosyllabic verb has dropped out between 'thou' and 'alone,' and that 'lov'st' has consequently been expanded into 'lovest.'

(27) *The Sunset, 21:*

'Is it not strange, Isabel,' said the youth,
'I never saw the sun? We will walk here
Tomorrow; thou shalt look on it with me.'

The youth's statement that he never saw the sun always appeared to me extraordinary, and I had wondered if Shelley meant to write 'sunrise.' Forman not only conjectured that he did, but proposed to read,

I never saw the sunrise? We will wake here

This conjecture, says Woodberry, 'substitutes melodrama for natural feeling and expression'; but he gives no interpretation of the 'natural expression.' The conjecture is tempting, but on the whole I should reject it, mainly because of the rhythm. 'Walk,' too, is natural, for they were walking as they watched the colours of the sunset (9). But what then can the statement 'I never saw the sun' mean? It appears from the preceding lines that the sun had already set when they were watching the sky; and it has been suggested to me that 'I never saw the sun' means simply 'I did not see the sun,' 'never' being used as

when we say, *e.g.*, 'I never noticed that A had left the room' instead of 'I did not notice...'

The words 'broad and burning' in line 17 form one of many instances in these early poems of reminiscences of Coleridge (see *Ancient Mariner*, 180).

(28) *Mont Blanc*, 47 :

till the breast
From which they fled recalls them, thou art there !

The line ending 'there' is the only one in the section that has no rhyme; and the last three words read strangely. If right, they must surely form a clause co-ordinate with the preceding clause, and should have a dash before them to make this clear.

(29) *Fragment: To a Friend released from Prison*: 'For me, my friend.'

(30) *Fragment: 'A Gentle Story of two Lovers Young.'*

These two stanzas, printed respectively among the Poems of 1817 and 1819, are in the same very unusual metre. Are they not connected? If the first is addressed to Leigh Hunt, is it possible that the second refers to his *Story of Rimini* (1816)? I quote the second :

A gentle story of two lovers young,
Who met in innocence and died in sorrow,
And of one selfish heart, whose rancour clung
Like curses on them ; are ye slow to borrow
The lore of truth from such a tale?
Or in this world's deserted vale,
Do ye not see a star of gladness
Pierce the shadows of its sadness,—
When ye are cold, that love is a light sent
From Heaven, which none shall quench, to sheen the innocent?

I do not find the dash after 'sadness' in the editions of Mrs Shelley, Forman, or Dowden, and do not know if it is a conjecture. But in any case what does the next line mean? Rossetti prints a note of interrogation after 'cold,' so as to connect the clause with the immediately preceding words; but this conjecture still leaves the rest of the sentence without a construction, and, however prosaic the suggestion may sound at first, I feel little doubt that what Shelley wrote was 'told,' not 'cold.'

(31) *Lines written among the Euganean Hills*: the conclusion :

We may live so happy there,
That the Spirits of the Air,
Envyng us, may even entice
To our healing Paradise
The polluting multitude;
But their rage would be subdued

By that clime divine and calm,
 And the winds whose wings rain balm
 On the uplifted soul, and leaves
 Under which the bright sea heaves ;
 While each breathless interval
 In their whisperings musical
 The inspired soul supplies
 With its own deep melodies,
 And the love which heals all strife
 Circling, like the breath of life,
 All things in that sweet abode
 With its own mild brotherhood :
 They, not it, would change ; and soon
 Every sprite beneath the moon
 Would repent its envy vain,
 And the earth grow young again.

What is the construction of 'And the love...brotherhood'? With the punctuation printed above, 'And' must connect 'the love' with the 'melodies' of the preceding line; and the meaning will be that the inspired soul supplies each interval in the whisperings of the leaves with its own deep melodies and with the love which heals all strife by circling, etc. Then 'They, not it, would change' is an independent new sentence. I find it difficult to believe that this is what Shelley intended. I suggest that his meaning would be conveyed, if a semi-colon were printed after 'melodies,' and if the next lines were punctuated thus:

And, the love which heals all strife
 Circling, like the breath of life,
 All things in that sweet abode
 With its own mild brotherhood,
 They, not it, would change ;

i.e. 'and, since [or while] the love which heals all strife encircles all things in that sweet abode, what would be changed would be the multitude, not the abode.' This is a somewhat awkward construction (and I should imagine that, when Shelley began the line 'And the love,' he meant 'love' to be the subject of a verb like 'would change them'); but it is more probable, I think, that he admitted this awkwardness than that he broke the flow of his peroration by abruptly beginning a new sentence four lines from the end of the poem.

It should be remembered that, in Forman's opinion, the proofs of this poem were probably corrected by Peacock, who, Forman also thinks, changed Shelley's punctuation, substituting other stops for the dashes of the MS.

(32) *The Woodman and the Nightingale*, line 6 :

And as a vale is watered by a flood,
 Or as the moonlight fills the open sky

Struggling with darkness—as a tuberose
Peoples some Indian dell with scents, etc.

The simile beginning 'as a tuberose' is the third of three; and the second of them begins 'or.' 'Tuberose,' further, seems to be a disyllable in the only other passage where Shelley uses it, *Sensitive Plant*, 37:

And the jessamine faint, and the sweet tuberose.

It seems therefore probable that here he wrote, or meant to write, 'or as a tuberose.'

(33) *Fragment*: 'My head is wild with weeping.'

I walk into the air (but no relief
To seek,—or haply, if I sought, to find;
It came unsought);

I suspect the semi-colon after 'find' should be struck out.

(34) *Fragment*: 'When a lover clasps his fairest.'

These two stanzas are in the metre of *Misery*, and might be a rejected part of it.

(35) *A Vision of the Sea*, 121:

And that breach in the tempest is widening away.

Perhaps Shelley wrote 'alway' (a form of which he was rather fond).

(36) *Ode to Liberty*, stanza i, line 5:

My soul spurned the chains of its dismay,
And in the rapid plumes of song
Clothed itself, sublime and strong,
(As a young eagle soars the morning clouds among,
Hovering in verse o'er its accustomed prey;

The punctuation seems to be conjectural. That of the *editio princeps* (1820) has a semi-colon at 'strong' and no marks of parenthesis round the next line; and this is also the punctuation of Mrs Shelley's editions. Hutchinson's text connects the line 'Hovering,' etc. with 'My soul.' The received punctuation would rather connect it with 'young eagle.' If the latter is right, 'in verse' cannot be right; and I strongly suspect that Rossetti's conjecture 'inverse' (which the Oxford text does not record) is the true reading. Shelley used this word in the *Letter to Maria Gisborne*, 261 (a poem written a few months after the *Ode to Liberty*),

Or whether clouds sail o'er the inverse deep.

'The inverse deep' means, I suppose, the deep which looks down on the earth. In the present passage 'inverse' would have the same

meaning. The expression may be thought odd or prosaic, but it is, at least, as good as the alternative, which makes the line a periphrasis for 'beginning to write poetry on its usual subjects.' On the other hand I suppose, from Woodberry's text, that 'in verse' has the authority of the Harvard MS.

(37) *Ode to Liberty*, stanza xvii :

The obscurity of this stanza is due to the fact that, while the word 'if' is used in different senses, it is naturally taken by the reader to have the same sense throughout. In lines 4 and 13 it has its usual meaning, but in lines 6 and 9 'What if' means 'What though.' Thus the general sense of the last ten lines is: What is the use of the conquests of Science and Art if the results of these conquests are misapplied?

(38) *Ode to Naples*, 100 :

That wealth, surviving fate,
Be thine.—All hail !

What does 'surviving fate' mean? Can the true reading be 'That wealth-surviving fate be thine!'?

(39) *Fragment*: 'I dreamed that Milton's spirit' :

I dreamed that Milton's spirit rose, and took
From life's green tree his Uranian lute ;
And from his touch sweet thunder flowed, and shook
All human things built in contempt of man.

Surely the second line should end 'his lute Uranian.'

(40) *Love, Hope, Desire, and Fear* :

This, as I have shown, is not an original poem, but a very free translation of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*, lines 81—154. See the *Athenaeum* for April 15, 1899.

(41) *Ginevra*, 103 :

And left her at her own request to keep
An hour of quiet and rest.

Surely 'quiet rest.' Cf. *Hellas*, 26,

So thou might'st win one hour of quiet sleep.

(42) *The Boat on the Serchio*, 30 :

All rose to do the task He set to each,
Who shaped us to His ends and not our own.

This is, I think, the most decidedly 'theistic' passage in Shelley (I do not know, by the way, where the capital in 'His' comes from). I never

read it without surprise. It has a curious resemblance to the passage at the opening of the *Triumph of Life*, where all things are said to

Rise as the Sun their father rose, to bear
Their portion of the toil, which he of old
Took as his own, and then imposed on them.

(43) *The Boat on the Serchio*, 48—51 :

These lines, beginning 'If morning dreams,' and ending 'time of day,' are evidently one alternative version; and 61—65, 'Of us...knows where,' are another. One or the other, therefore, should be printed only in a footnote.

(44) *Fragment*: 'And that I walk':

And that I walk thus proudly crowned withal
Is that 'tis my distinction.

Surely Shelley meant to write 'Tis that is,' or 'In that is.'

(45) *Fragment: The False Laurel*: 'What art thou.'

This is in *terza rima*. Can it be connected with the *Triumph of Life*? Unless I mistake, the inverted commas which mark it as a dialogue are due to Rossetti's conjecture. But the Oxford edition has no note.

(46) *The Magnetic Lady to her Patient*, 43 :

And as I must on earth abide
Awhile, yet tempt me not to break
My chain.

Should not the second line run 'Awhile yet, tempt me not to break'?

(47) *To Jane, the Recollection*, III :

We paused amid the pines that stood
The giants of the waste,
Tortured by storms to shapes as rude
As serpents interlaced,
And soothed by every azure breath,
That under Heaven is blown,
To harmonies and hues beneath,
As tender as its own;
Now all the tree-tops lay asleep,
Like green waves on the sea,
As still as in the silent deep
The ocean woods may be.

I cannot help suspecting that the comma in line 4, and the semi-colon in line 8, should change places; i.e. that the participle 'soothed' in line 5 refers to 'tree-tops' in line 9, not to 'pines' in line 1. The last eight lines, it should be remembered, were not part of the poem as first written.

PROSE WORKS.

(I refer to the pages of Mrs Shelley's edition of the *Essays, Letters*, etc., 2 vols. 1852, and to those of Forman's edition of the Prose Works.)

(48) *Defence of Poetry, Essays*, i. 11; Forman, iii. 106: 'An observation of the regular mode of the recurrence of harmony in the language of poetical minds, together with its relation to music, produced metre, or a certain system of traditional forms of harmony and language.' The last three words should surely be 'harmony *in* language.'

(49) *Defence of Poetry, Essays*, i. 21; Forman, iii. 116: 'The drama, so long as it continues to express poetry, is as a prismatic and many-sided mirror, which collects the brightest rays of human nature and divides and reproduces them from the simplicity of these elementary forms.' Shelley perhaps meant 'divides them and reproduces from them.'

(50) The next sentence but one should read: 'Tragedy becomes a cold imitation of the form of the great masterpieces of antiquity, divested of all harmonious accompaniment of the kindred arts (and often the very form misunderstood); or a weak attempt to teach certain doctrines,' etc. 'Are infected,' at the end of the sentence, is of course a mistake for 'is infected.'

(51) *Defence of Poetry, Essays*, i. 22; Forman, iii. 117: 'At such periods the calculating principle pervades all the forms of dramatic exhibition, and poetry ceases to be expressed upon them.' Read 'impressed' for 'expressed,' which occurs five lines above.

(52) *On the Punishment of Death, Essays*, i. 175; Forman, ii. 248: 'there is a certain analogy, not wholly absurd, between the consequences resulting to an individual during life from the virtuous or vicious, prudent or imprudent, conduct of his external actions, to those consequences which are conjectured,' etc. '*To* those consequences' is obviously miswritten for '*and* those consequences.'

(53) *On Life, Essays*, i. 183; Forman, ii. 259: 'The shocking absurdities of the popular philosophy of mind and matter, its fatal consequences in morals, and their violent dogmatism concerning the source of all things, had early conducted me to materialism.' 'Their' is a miswriting for 'its.'

(54) *On a Future State, Essays*, i. 192; Forman, ii. 277: 'It is probable that what we call thought is not an actual being, but no more than the relation between certain parts of that infinitely varied mass, of which the rest of the universe is composed, and which ceases to exist so soon as those parts change their position with regard to each other.' The 'which' before 'ceases to exist' refers to 'relation,' not to 'mass.' What Shelley meant was 'and that it.'

(55) *Ib.*, six sentences further on: 'Yet the difference between light and earth is scarcely greater than that which exists between life, or thought, and fire.' Shelley meant 'less great,' not 'greater.'

(56) *Ib., Essays*, i. 193; Forman, ii. 278: 'For when we use the words *principle, power, cause, &c.*, we mean to express no real being, but only to class under those terms a certain series of co-existing phenomena; but let it be supposed that this principle is a certain substance,' etc. A quite new sentence should begin with the words 'but let.' What precedes is parenthetical.

(57) *Speculations on Metaphysics, Essays*, i. 196; Forman, ii. 284: 'It has commonly been supposed that those distinct thoughts which affect a number of persons, at regular intervals, during the passage of a multitude of other thoughts, which are called *real* or *external objects*, are totally different in kind from those which affect only a few persons, and which recur at irregular intervals, and are usually more obscure and indistinct, such as hallucinations, dreams, and the ideas of madness.' The clause which runs 'which are called *real* or *external objects*' should read 'and which,' etc. The 'which,' that is to say, refers not to 'thoughts' immediately preceding it, but to 'those distinct thoughts' two lines above. Shelley's point is that the thoughts which are called external objects, and the thoughts which are called hallucinations, dreams, etc., differ not in kind but only in force.

(58) *Ib., Essays*, i. 199; Forman, ii. 286: 'For if the inequalities, produced by what has been termed the operations of the external universe were levelled by the perception of our being, uniting, and filling up their interstices, motion and mensuration, and time, and space; the elements of the human mind being thus abstracted, sensation and imagination cease.' This punctuation, which places 'motion,' 'mensuration,' 'time,' and 'space' in apposition with 'interstices,' turns the sentence into nonsense. The words 'the elements of the human mind' are in apposition with 'motion and mensuration and time and space,'

as the drift of the argument shows. Shelley's meaning may be expressed thus: If the inequalities produced by the so-called operations of the external universe were levelled through the interstices being filled up by the perception of our existence, sensation and imagination would cease; for motion, mensuration, space and time would have disappeared, and these are the elements of the human mind. The semi-colon after 'space' should be a comma, and another comma should be inserted after 'mind'; or else 'the elements of the human mind' should be enclosed in marks of parenthesis.

(59) *Ib.*, *Essays*, i. 200; Forman, ii. 288: 'It is said,' etc. Forman rightly observes that this paragraph does not seem to have any necessary connection with the others. If it is not a mere detached remark, it may well be connected with the sentence just dealt with in (58).

(60) *Ib.*, *Essays*, i. 202; Forman, ii. 293: 'This is merely an affair of words, and as the dispute deserves, to say, that when speaking of the objects of thought, we indeed only describe one of the forms of thought—or that, speaking of thought, we only apprehend one of the operations of the universal system of beings.' There is evidently something wrong here, but the meaning is plain enough, and I see no reason to doubt, with Forman, the correctness of 'beings.' But there is miswriting or corruption in 'and as the dispute deserves,' and it is probably impossible to conjecture what Shelley wrote or meant to write. The sense might have been 'and the only answer the dispute deserves is to say'; or, more probably, 'and all the purpose the dispute serves is to show.'

Mrs Shelley used extravagant language about her husband's philosophical powers, but it is evident that she did not understand these fragments.

I cannot end without congratulating Mr Hutchinson on the excellence of his edition. In these Notes I have naturally been led to comment on places where slight changes in it may be desirable; but no student can help admiring the thoroughness and judgment displayed throughout it. When we are able to compare with it the promised edition by Mr Locock we may hope to reach the completion of the process which since 1862, the date of Garnett's *Relics of Shelley*, has so greatly enlarged and purified the text of the Poetical Works.

A. C. BRADLEY.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SONGS IN LYLY'S PLAYS.

‘AND seeing you have used me so friendly, as to make me acquainted with your passions, I will shortly make you pryvie to mine, which I woulde be loth the printer shoulde see, for that my fancies being never so crooked he would put them in streight lines, unfit for my humor, necessarie for his art, who setteth downe, blinde, in as many letters as seeing.’ These words, from an epistle to Thomas Watson, constitute the whole of the external evidence to which an editor can point of Lyly having ever written verse of a lyrical nature. It is neither a very clear nor a very full confession. Probably many lovers of literature who are in the habit of regarding Lyly as one of the choicest of the Elizabethan songsters, will be surprised to learn that nothing is heard of the authorship of the poems on which his reputation in this line is based, till he had been reposing for over a quarter of a century in the vaults of St Bartholomew the Less. This is remarkable; still more so is the fact that no critic has ever fairly faced the question of authenticity, or endeavoured to collect and appraise the available evidence. Although not hopeful of arriving at any definite conclusion in the matter, I have thought that some more or less detailed discussion might not be amiss, if only with a view to clearing the ground for further investigation.

The first problem is to define the area of inquiry. Besides the eight plays of undoubted authorship, there have been ascribed to Lyly a comedy entitled *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, several ‘Entertainments,’ and a considerable mass of anonymous verse from various printed and manuscript collections. These latter need not detain us. Of the seventy-three poems ascribed to Lyly by Mr Bond in his recent edition, several have since been shown to be unquestionably the work of other writers. This fact proves that the internal evidence upon which the ascriptions were made was of an inadequate character. So also with the ‘Entertainments.’ The attempt to connect Lyly with the Office of the Revels having failed, there is no external evidence to associate him

with these semi-dramatic performances. While, moreover, the bulk of the lyric verse they contain might have been written by anybody, the only piece of conspicuous merit is not only assigned to Nicholas Breton on excellent printed and manuscript authority, but is as like that poet's work as it is unlike any of the songs found in Lyly's plays.

The authorship of the *Maid's Metamorphosis* is a more complicated question, and must be considered in some detail. Printed in 1600, it was first ascribed to Lyly in Edward Archer's catalogue in 1656. This attribution was endorsed in 1661 by Francis Kirkman, and in 1687 by William Winstanley in his *Lives of the English Poets*. The latter, however, appears to have confused the play with *Love's Metamorphosis*, which he omits. Winstanley was followed by Langbaine and by all subsequent bibliographers down to Halliwell in 1860. Mr Bond supposes Collier to have been the first to hint a doubt, and quotes the words 'attributed doubtfully to Lyly' from his *History of Dramatic Poetry* (iii. p. 12); but the 'doubtfully' is an insertion which first appeared in the edition of 1879. Consequently Fairholt, who excluded the piece from his edition of the plays in 1858, must be regarded as the first to question the tradition. Since he wrote, it has been generally recognised that Lyly's claim, at any rate to the sole authorship of the piece, is unfounded. Mr Gosse suggested Day as the author, a view perhaps rather hastily endorsed by Mr Bullen, and later by Mr Bond, who, however, is inclined to see Lyly's hand in the prose scenes II. ii. and III. ii., as also in the duet in IV. ii. and the final song in V. ii. Mr Fleay, on the other hand, is confident in assigning the bulk of the play, which is in verse, to Daniel, and II. ii. and III. ii. to Lyly. He makes no mention of the songs.

With the ascription to Day we need not here concern ourselves. I do not, for my own part, find much resemblance with Day's undoubted work, and Mr Fleay has raised historical objections of some weight. The other theories involve a dual authorship. This I see no sufficient reason to allow. Mr Fleay writes that the prose scenes 'are clearly insertions by a second hand,' but this method of splitting up plays is one of which he is perhaps over-fond, and not unfrequently raises greater difficulties than it solves. In the present case it is true that the serious and comic parts are written in two very distinct styles, but the author, whoever he may have been, was obviously a beginner in the art and relied largely on imitation. Since, as Collier long ago observed, he imitated Spenser in many of the verse passages of the play, why should he not have imitated Lyly in the prose scenes? There

are also certain considerations that directly point to a unity of authorship. Thus in II. i. verse and prose are intimately associated; yet the latter closely resembles in style that of the comic scenes. Moreover, the page Juculo, speaking in prose, adopts the rather unusual device of addressing the audience directly, which device is also resorted to by Eurymine in a verse speech in III. i. To Daniel's authorship of the verse part there are objections which appear to me insuperable. Mr Fleay writes: 'Daniel had, at the death of Spenser, 1599, become Court poet, and the style of most of the play is just that of his earlier dramatic work. The fondness for rhyme, the introduction of Juno, Iris, and Somnus in ii. 1 (some of the very words are repeated in his *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, 1604), the fall of the metre, and the pastoral plot all point to Daniel as the main author.' Now, the alleged parallels between the *Maid's Metamorphosis* and Daniel's *Vision*, appear, like others that could be cited, to exist chiefly in Mr Fleay's imagination, for Mr Bond declares that he has looked for them in vain, and so have I. The only resemblance lies in the last words of Somnus in either case; in the masque: 'He to sleepe againe'; in the play: 'And I to sleepe, as fast as I can hie.' It may be sufficient to remark that Ovid, in the passage that both poets were imitating, had written: 'rursus molli languore solutus deposuitque caput stratoque recondidit alto' (*Met.* XI. 648). The nature of the plot I regard as one of the strongest arguments against Daniel's authorship. It would, indeed, require very cogent proof to convince me that the poet who a few years later was to be the chief exponent of the orthodox Italian tradition in pastoral, was in 1600 engaged in the composition of this, the earliest and perhaps the most notable play of the mixed pastoral-courtly-mythological type. The verse, lastly, is in a totally different manner. Daniel's is polished and even, rarely either soaring or contemptible, but with a tendency to pretty flabbiness; the rimes are usually alternate. That of the *Maid's Metamorphosis* is experimental, imitative, amateurish, often careless and rugged, then again at times pointed and nervous, throughout extraordinarily unequal; the rimes are usually in couplets. Daniel never sank to the fatuity of some passages that might be quoted from the play, nor did he ever succeed in beating out such haunting music as that of the lines describing Atalanta, when

with her traine of nymphs attending on
She came to hunt the Bore of Calydon. (I. i. 328.)

There is more to be said in favour of Lyly's authorship of the prose scenes and of the songs, for the former at any rate, if not by him, were

at least composed under his immediate influence. I am, nevertheless, inclined to question the ascription. The waggish pages of Lyly early passed into tradition, especially pastoral tradition, and though the likeness to the original is certainly closer in the present play than elsewhere, it can hardly be argued that the scenes in question would have been beyond the powers of a clever imitator. Moreover, though Lyly is by no means invariably decorous in his jests, he never quite condescended to the level of childish obscenity touched in certain passages of the *Maid's Metamorphosis*. Symonds, again, declared that 'the lyrics are not in his manner,' and though the doubt as to whether those commonly ascribed to him are really the work of one man suggests caution, I think that in the more distinguished examples at least a different hand may be traced. Thus the songs in Lyly's plays contain nothing in the style of the following intricate jingles from Eurymine's prayer in I. i.:

Ye sacred Fyres, and powers above,
Forge of desires, working love,
Cast downe your eye, cast downe your eye
Upon a Mayde in miserie.

Nor do we find anything at all comparable to the striking crescendo of antiphonal effect in the duet between the shepherd and the woodman in IV. ii.:

<i>Gemulo.</i>	As little Lambes lift up their snowie sides, When mounting Larke salutes the gray-eyed morne—
<i>Silvio.</i>	As from the Oaken leaves the honie glides, Where Nightingales record upon the thorne—
<i>Gem.</i>	So rise my thoughts—
<i>Sil.</i>	So all my sences cheere—
<i>Gem.</i>	When she surveyes my flocks—
<i>Sil.</i>	And she my Deare.
<i>Gem.</i>	Eurymine!
<i>Sil.</i>	Eurymine!
<i>Gem.</i>	Come foorth!
<i>Sil.</i>	Come foorth!
<i>Gem.</i>	Come foorth and cheere these plaines!
<i>Both.</i>	Eurymine, come foorth and cheere these plaines—
<i>Sil.</i>	The Wood-mans Love—
<i>Gem.</i>	And Lady of the Swaynes!

In considering Lyly's claim to be regarded as a lyrist, we may then, I think, confine our attention to the songs contained in the eight plays of undoubted authorship. According to Mr Bond, these plays originally contained thirty-two songs. With two exceptions, however, these are all omitted in the original quartos. The exceptions occur in the *Woman in the Moon*. They appear to have been retained by an oversight, being printed as part of the dialogue, from which Mr Bond takes

to himself some credit for disentangling them. Dainty enough in their way, they are yet such as any literary hack of the time might have written. The play also contained other songs which have disappeared, as have those that once adorned *Love's Metamorphosis*; these two pieces being only preserved in the original quartos. The attribution of the remaining songs entirely lacks contemporary authority. Moreover, when they appear, they do so in a manner well calculated to arouse suspicion. It was as late as 1632, namely, that Edward Blount issued his *Six Court Comedies*, containing all Lyly's previously published plays, with the exception of the two mentioned above. In this collection the remaining twenty-one extant songs first appeared. Had Blount printed the plays from an independent manuscript source, there would have been no external reason to question the authenticity of any new matter they might happen to contain. But this was not the case. As Mr Bond has shown, the *Six Court Comedies* were printed from the quartos, and in cases where a choice was possible from the latest and most corrupt. The songs must, therefore, have been obtained independently, and the question arises, whence. Had Blount procured the actual score as originally distributed to the actors, he would surely have blazoned the fact in his prefatory epistle, or even upon the title-page of the work. Had the pieces reprinted still held the stage we might have supposed that he had obtained from the playhouse the songs then in use; but nothing is more certain than that not one of Lyly's plays had been acted for a quarter of a century or more. On the other hand the verses first printed in his volume were no fortuitous collection of contemporary lyrics. Several at least were written for the positions they now occupy. Can he have commissioned some poet of the time to supply the deficiencies either by judicious adaptation, or by original composition? There is one sentence in his epistle 'To the Reader' which may conceivably bear upon the point. 'These Papers of his,' writes Blount, 'lay like dead Lawrels in a Churchyard; But I have gathered the scattered branches up, and by a Charme (gotten from Apollo) made them greene againe, and set them up as Epitaphes to his Memory.' The 'Charme gotten from Apollo' must surely, even in publisher's hyperbole, mean something beyond the mere fact of reprinting. He may conceivably have been referring to the acceptance of the dedication by Lord Lumley, or he may have had in mind the supplying of defects in the earlier editions; it would indeed be an over-modest way of referring to the recovery of some of his author's choicest work. Let us examine the songs more closely.

The twenty-one lyrics in question were all printed for the first time in Blount's collection. In two cases, however, a song re-appeared in another work which, though printed at a later date, had been written earlier. They are the first and third songs in *Campaspe*. Of these 'O for a Bowle of fatt Canary, Rich Palermo, sparkling Sherry,' occurs with slight variations in Middleton's play, *A Mad World, my Masters*. This was first printed in 1608, but the song is not found until the second edition in 1640. Middleton's version differs from Blount's in reading 'Aristippus' for 'Palermo' in l. 2, and 'come down' for 'leape down' in l. 16. I take Blount's to be the original. Of course, the insertion of the verses in Middleton's play in 1640, after they had appeared in the collection of 1632, is not of much consequence. It should, however, be remarked that they are not merely inserted to fill a gap in the text, but deliberately added at the end with the heading: 'The Catch for the Fifth Act, sung by Sir Bounteous Progresse to his Guests.' I have no doubt that, whatever may have been the origin of the song, it formed part of the play as acted at Salisbury Court. Mr Bullen thinks that 'perhaps neither Middleton nor Lyly wrote it.' Possibly; but I would suggest a comparison with another song in Middleton's *Spanish Gipsy*, a play first printed in 1653 though acted thirty years before. The song, 'Trip it, gipsies, trip it fine,' occurs in III. i., and will be found, I think, to possess several points of similarity with that printed by Blount, especially in the use of 'girls' for the more usual 'wenches,' and in the allusions to various different wines. At least, I would ask any reader whether, after comparing the two, he thinks it likely that one should belong to about 1580 and the other to about 1620. I should remark that the earliest literary reference to Canary wine is thirteen years later than the first edition of *Campaspe*, which appeared in 1584. It was, indeed, known earlier than this, for we find in Holinshed's *Description of England* (bk. II. ch. 6) mention not 'of small wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c: whereof Vervage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie & Malmeseie are not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure' (*Chronicles*, 1587, i. p. 167; the passage is not found in the earlier edition). It does not, however, follow that the 'Canarian' wine was known as 'Canary,' or that it was a popular favourite, as it must have been when the song was written; but rather the reverse. The first

much later. In the *Midas* song also occurs the expression 'checkered-apron men,' which the editor is only able to explain by a reference in 1688. It should further be remarked that Blount's collection contains one other addition to the original text of the plays. This is the dumb show in *Endimion* II. iii. It is simply the representation of the dream subsequently related by *Endimion* in v. i. Lyly does not use this device elsewhere. Mr Bond writes: 'It is unused by Marlowe, Lodge, and Nash. It marks, in fact, an earlier date than that at which these dramatists wrote.' In this he is in error. It was by no means infrequent in the seventeenth century down to the time of Webster, and there is, therefore, nothing improbable in a reviser having inserted it. It is true that none of the above considerations can be held to be of much weight individually, but coming on the top of the evidence to be derived from the first two songs we considered, they are to my mind at least significant.

When once the question of the authenticity of the songs has been fairly raised, it must be apparent upon what slight grounds Lyly's reputation as a lyrist really rests. It is remarkable that not a single allusion exists to him as a songster, though he is frequently mentioned as a prose writer. It is also significant that in the two parts of his lengthy novel the only verses introduced are a copy of Latin elegiacs, and there is nothing either in his prose or verse to suggest that he was gifted with any lyrical aptitude. In no instance does a song from his plays occur in any of the early collections whether in print or manuscript. When the majority of the songs do appear they come before us in an indeed questionable shape. We find ourselves forced to choose between two theories. On the one hand we may suppose with Mr Bond that by some fortunate accident Blount was able to procure the original score of the songs which Lyly had given to his boys when the plays were first performed, or at least a copy from that original. Such unhoped-for chances do occur in the history of letters; but the theory involves us in the many serious difficulties I have indicated above. On the other hand we may suppose that Blount, in order to freshen up the 'dead Lawrels' of the old wit, commissioned some contemporary poet to supply a score or so of songs for various places indicated in the text. There are certainly objections of an *a priori* nature to this theory, but it seems to me to involve the fewer difficulties of the two. It also suggests an explanation of the very varying quality and style of the lyrics, since there would no longer be any reason to suppose that they were the work of one man, but might have been collected from a great

variety of sources. The fact of the songs being omitted from the early editions need not surprise us. The old quartos omit songs as often as not. The consistency of the omission, however, is a little unusual. Mr Bond thinks that the importance of the musical rights may have been the cause. It might be suggested, on the other hand, that the omission was due to the fact of their being in themselves of negligible literary worth, in many cases very likely not even original, and in none of a nature to lend lustre to the elaborate artistry of the prose. This theory certainly receives colour from the two songs which have been, as it were accidentally, preserved.

Can we form any idea as to who the collector, adapter, and author of this miscellaneous score of lyrics can have been? Blount is hardly likely to have done the work himself. The name of Thomas Dekker has been prominent in the above discussion; that of Thomas Middleton has also appeared. It should be borne in mind that the two collaborated. Mr Fleay, noting that the song in the *Sun's Darling* is also found in Blount's collection, remarks: 'This would lead one to suppose that the other songs in that edition which do not appear in the earlier editions are also by Dekker. I for one believe them to be so.' The conclusion may be hasty, but not more hasty than that of critics who have accepted them as the undoubted work of Lyly. Dekker was hard put to it for a living in his later years, and glad of anything that his pen could earn. In 1631, according to Mr Fleay, he had sunk so far as to publish old plays only partially his. Was it at this time that he undertook Blount's commission? If so one can only hope that he received the remuneration of his labours in time to relieve the necessity of his last days. His death occurred the year of the publication of the *Six Court Comedies*.

W. W. GREG.

SHAKESPEARIANA.

(1) *Tempest*, iii, 2, 63 :

Stephano. That's most certain.

The context seems to me to favour the transferring of these words to the invisible Ariel.

(2) *Tempest*, iv, 1, 179 :

calf-like they my lowing follow'd, through
Tooth'd briars, sharp furzes, pricking goss and thorns
Which entered their frail shins : at last I left them
I' the filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.

Ariel's performance was perhaps suggested by Marlowe's *Faustus*, iv, 2 :

Go, Belimoth, and take this caitiff hence,
And hurl him in some lake of mud and dirt :
Take thou this other, drag him through the woods
Amongst the pricking thorns and sharpest briars.

(3) *II Henry IV*, iii, 2, 339 :

a' came ever in the rearward (F₁ rereward) of the fashion.

The phrase recurs in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (in which other Shakespearian echoes have been noted, especially a passage in ii, 3, echoing *Julius Caesar*, v, 5, 73—75, and one in v, 6, echoing *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v, 1, 82, 83), iv, 1 :

a country ladie, that comes ever i' the rereward, or traine of a fashion.

(4) *Richard III*, v, 3 :

When Shakespeare made the ghosts on the eve of Bosworth reiterate their 'Despair and die' to the sleeping king, had he in mind the last words of Mephistophelis to Faustus (*Faustus*, v, 11) ?

Ah Faustus, now thou hast no hope of heaven,
Therefore despair ; think only upon hell ;
For that must be thy mansion there to dwell...
What, weep'st thou ! 'tis too late, despair ! Farewell !
Fools that will laugh on earth must weep in hell.

(5) *Coriolanus*, iii, 2, 39:

Volumnia. You are too absolute;
 Though therein you can never be too noble,
 But when extremities speak. I have heard you say
 Honour and policy, like unsever'd friends
 I' the war do grow together.

This is how it stands in the First Folio. Surely the sense is much improved by a slight change:

You are too absolute,
 Though therein you can never be too noble:
 But, when extremities speak, (I have heard you say),
 Honour and policy, like unsever'd friends etc.

(6) *Romeo and Juliet*, iv, 3, 57:

Juliet. stay, Tybalt, stay:
 Romeo, I come! this do I drink to thee!

This—the text of the First Quarto—has been adopted by most editors from Pope onwards. These last words of Juliet, before drinking the potion, were perhaps suggested by the last line of Marlowe's *Dido*:

Now, sweet Iarbas stay! I come to thee (*kills herself*).

(7) *Macbeth*, iv, 6, 5:

The editors of *The Spanish Tragedy* point out various phrases in that play which were afterwards borrowed by Shakespeare. One, however, they appear to have overlooked. In the above passage of *Macbeth* Lennox is talking ironically of the mysterious death of Banquo:

And the right-valiant Banquo walk'd too late:
 Whom, you may say, if't please you, Fleance kill'd,
 For Fleance fled: men must not walk too late.

How much additional point is given to these lines when we note that they were spoken to an audience familiar with the following lines of *The Spanish Tragedy*! Act iii, sc. 3, line 38 ('Temple Dramatists'):

3rd Watchman. Sirrah, confess and therein play the priest,
 Why hast thou thus unkindly kill'd the man?

Pedringano. Why! because he walk'd abroad so late.

3rd Watchman. Come, sir, you had been better kept your bed,
 Than have committed this misdeed so late.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

A GERMAN VERSION OF THE THIEF-LEGEND.

AMONGST the many medieval legends of the Virgin Mary which have been preserved to us, that of the thief who was saved from the gallows by the intervention of the Virgin seems to have been particularly popular, for there is hardly a collection which does not contain it in some form¹. The Thief-story existed, however, in its main outlines before the cult of the Virgin became so wide-spread as to cause many of the miraculous occurrences, formerly attributed to the intervention of saints or to other causes, to be placed without discrimination to the credit of Our Lady. In the life of St Bernard, for example, we read that that saint, happening to meet a thief who was about to be crucified for his sins, saved him from the physical punishment of the cross in order that he might take up the true cross of religion². There is a more interesting story contained in the *Vitas patrum*, which tells of a robber-chief named Cyriacus, surnamed 'the wolf,' whose life was preserved for ten years as a reward for having saved the lives of some little children; there is no mention of the Virgin, or even of a saint, but the children appear to him frequently in his dreams, saying: 'Noli timere, nos pro te satisfacimus³.' In the collections of Latin legends, however, the story has already assumed a more definite form, and has developed into a legend of a very common type. A thief, generally called Eppo or Ebbo, is sustained for three days on the gallows by the Virgin, who places her hands beneath his feet, as a reward for his having venerated her 'ex corde' during his lifetime. The attempt to cut the thief's throat is also frustrated by the Virgin who wards off the sword with her hand. The thief is released in recognition of the miracle and im-

¹ Some idea may be formed of its popularity by reference to Mussafia's Classification of the Mary-Legends in the *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, vols. 113, 115, 119. Cp. also Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, ii, p. 586 f.

² *Vita prima*: Liber vii, Cap. xv: *De latrone a cruci supplicio per S.B. liberato, sed cruci religioso deinceps addicto*.

³ Migne, *Vitas patrum*, vol. 74, p. 202. Cap. clvi: *Vita latronis nuncupati Cyriaci*.

mediately enters a monastery¹. But there is another thief-story, which, although resting on the same foundations, has developed in a different manner. In this the thief is one of three brother-knights who have taken to robbery. They are all three captured and condemned to the gallows. Two of them are hanged, but the third desires confession, and, in spite of all the efforts made to kill him, he is miraculously kept alive until he has received absolution, whereupon, as the story proceeds to relate, 'statim mortuus est.'

From the contamination of these two legends resulted the simple story of the robber-knight, who, as a reward for his unfailing veneration of the Virgin during his lifetime, is preserved from death until an opportunity has been granted him of confessing and receiving absolution. There can be no doubt that this version of the legend existed in Latin MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the story is preserved in this form in at least four different languages, French, Spanish, Dutch and German. In Old French it is found in all three forms. As related by Gautier de Coinci², the legend follows closely the Latin stories of Eppo the thief; in a MS. of the fifteenth century, described by Tobler (*Trois freres gentilz homes estoient*, etc.)³, we find the story of the three brother-knights, one of whom is saved in order that he may confess, while an unpublished Anglo-norman poem contained in MS. Royal xx B, xiv (fol. 169) of the British Museum, gives the third version of the thief-story, which has been described as a contamination of the other two. Here we have a knight who is forced to take to robbery because he has squandered all his possessions. Thanks to the 'angeline salutation,' which he has never omitted to perform, he is kept alive by the Virgin with a spear through his heart until he has confessed his sins and received absolution from a priest, whereupon he immediately falls down dead: 'Kant tut out dit ius mort chai.' Amongst the Spanish legends we find the ordinary Eppo-story (although the name is not mentioned), in which the thief was taken down from the gallows, 'e alli fina sos dies a servey e pleer de nostre senyor Deus e de la Verge gloriosa mare sua'—the only variation from the Latin source being that there is no attempt here to cut the thief's throat. In the same collec-

¹ This Latin story has been published by Wright for the Percy Society, No. 109, 1842; also by Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, p. 269.

² Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues d'Étienne de Bourbon*, p. 103, No. 109 b.

³ Edition by Pocquet. Livre ii: *Du larron qui se commandoit a nostre dame*.

⁴ A. Tobler, *Eine handschriftliche Sammlung altfranzösischer Legenden (Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Litteratur, Bd. 7, 8)*.

tion¹ is to be found the legend of the 'cavaller robador' who is said to have been condemned by the 'Emperador Frederich.' After having hung for three days on the gallows, he is found still living by another knight, whom he informs that he cannot die without confession, because he had never allowed a day to pass without repeating 'tres Pater noster e tres Ave marias a honor de la Trinitat, e V paternoster a honor de les V plaques de Jesucrist, e un paternoster a honor del angel a qui jo son comonat, e altre paternoster a honor del sant cors de Deu.' He begs his friend to send for a priest to whom he may confess, 'e tentost li feeran venir un clergue e confessas, e apres ab gran devocio combrequa; e apres decontinent rete la anima a Jesucrist.' We find these same two legends in the medieval Dutch collections: the Eppo-story (again without the name), which concludes with the following words: 'Doe dat voor den rechter quam, doe dede he den dief of doen vonder galghen ende die dief ghing altehants in een cloester ende diende gode ende sijn lieve troesterinne Maria die maghet ende moeder godes al sijn leven lanc²': and the other version, in which the severest ill-treatment is ineffective in putting an end to the thief's life until he has been granted an opportunity of confession: 'man sleepten hem, men hinc hem, men sloech hem mit scarpes swaerden, men mochte hem in gheenre wjs doden.' As soon as he has received absolution, 'doe starf hi te hants endi hi voer te hemelryc³.'

In German literature the legend appears in similar forms. The Eppo-version, published by Pfeiffer⁴, follows the Latin originals, except that, as in both Spanish and Dutch, the name and the episode of the sword are omitted. Another version, of which the text is here published for the first time, is contained in MS. All. 150 of the Bibliothèque nationale. As in the Anglo-norman and Spanish stories, the robber-knight is forced to take to robbing his friends and neighbours 'umb lybes nar.' Here, too, he is seen on the gallows and questioned by a passing friend, who fetches a priest at his earnest request, and no sooner has he confessed than he falls down dead, nothing remaining of him but a little heap of ashes on the ground⁵. The author of the German poem mentions as his source, the *Vitas patrum*; and it is possible that he had

¹ *Recull de eximplis e miracles, gestes e faules*, etc., ii, No. ccccv (p. 34); No. dcii (p. 213).

² C. G. N. de Vooy, *Middelnerlandse Marialegenden* (*Maatschappij der nederlandschen Letterkunde*, i, xxx).

³ C. G. N. de Vooy, *Middelnerlandse legenden en exempeln*, p. 106 f.

⁴ *Marienlegenden*, No. 6, p. 47.

⁵ As evidence of the favour which this legend enjoyed in Germany, Professor R. Priebisch tells me that an early thirteenth century fragment of a layman's breviary,

the story of Cyriacus in his mind, but it is more probable that, as was so often the case at that time, he wished to give a worthy source for his own poem and pretended that he had found the subject in the *Vitas patrum*, which was a never failing source of 'exempla' for the preachers and didactic writers of the Middle Ages.

Ms. All. 150 of the Bibliothèque nationale is protected by old wooden covers and contains two MSS. written respectively in 1418 and 1419¹. The first of these consists of the translation by Otto von Diemeringen of Mandeville's Travels in the Orient; the second contains, besides the present poem, (1) an extract from the chronicle of Twinger of Königshofen (fol. 202^r-245^r); (2) a didactic poem called *Des meister Albertus lehre* (fol. 263-268, continued, fol. 345-356); (3) a poem on the fifteen signs before judgment, and the judgment itself (fol. 281-292^r); a poem entitled *Von Jesus dem artzt*. The writer of the second MS. calls himself at the end (fol. 356) 'Corin ein gut geselle,' and, according to another entry (fol. 344^r), the MS. was written at Spire in 1419.

The following rhymes are of importance in determining the home of the author: ryden : vermyden (55); lyn < ligen : heuffelyn (115) (cp. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, xlv, p. 401; Rieger, *Das Leben der heiligen Elisabeth*, p. 30); gesat < gesaget : pfat (57) (cp. Heinzel, *Gesch. der niederfränk. Geschäftssprache*, Typus vii; Weinhold, *Mhd. Grammatik*, § 33); instead of verzeit : meit (73-74), we must therefore read either verzat : mat, or as in 15-16, verzaget : maget; lychamen : âmen (111) (cp. *Maria Himmelfahrt*, l. 1843, in the *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, v) points to lychâmen (cp. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, xlv, p. 96), but that the short form was used as well is proved by the rhyme lychamen : namen (101). schult : holt (99) (cp. Weinhold, § 74); konigîn : sin (49, 107) (cp. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, xlv, p. 78); the infinitives with apocope of -n, gezyde : byde (27); wyse : paradyse (105), where the full forms are only due to the copyist. These rhymes speak for Middle Germany. The poet's home cannot have been far from that of the scribe, namely in Rhenish Franconia; that he, however, did not belong to the 'rein-reimenden' Franconian poets is shown by the rhymes â : ä in masculine

formerly in the possession of the well-known Pastor Oberlin, now ms. Lat. 9377 of the Bibliothèque nationale, contains well-executed coloured pen-drawings to several Mary-legends (Theophilus, the drowning woman, etc.). One of these represents the Virgin sustaining the right arm of a hanging knight, and on the margin a contemporary hand has written 'Hie ledigot unser frowe einen erhangenen.'

¹ A detailed description of the ms. containing the poem has been sent by Professor Priebisch to the *Archiv der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

endings: gesat : pfat (57), man : getan (59); he also does not shrink from $\bar{o} : \bar{ö}$, as got : not (65), noch : zoch (71), and $\bar{e} : \bar{ë}$, in verzeret : leret (9).

With regard to the metre, the rule of four lifts and masculine rhymes, three lifts and feminine rhymes (in the proportion of twelve of the former to five of the latter) is observed, the only exception being lines 17, 18, which have four lifts notwithstanding the feminine rhyme. As no conclusion can be drawn from the rhymes, with regard to apocope and syncope, it is necessary to allow for dips of two syllables in lines 1, 17, 26, 30, 36, 42, 48, 50, 55, 88, 121. 'Auftakt' of two syllables occurs in lines 16, 34, 35, 36, 38, 44, 55, 60, 94, 95, 131; 'beschwerte Hebung' in lines 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 25, 29, 70, 75, 84, 86, 92, 93, 97, 104, 112, 117, 124, 125; but in nine of these cases the 'beschwerte Betonung' falls on words (erbere, nachgat, sprechwort, unwert, bosheit, hellisch, bichtere, licham, dynstman) where the omission of the dip was allowed, even after syllable-counting had superseded the method of accentuation in the rhyme-pairs (cp. Jänicke, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Seifried Helbling*, in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, xvi, p. 402; and Kraus, *Zur Kritik des Meier Helmbrecht*, in the same journal, xlvii, p. 305). In three of the remaining cases (25, 70, 125), the dip is wanting immediately after the second lift, and thus a kind of caesura is formed. It is possible that lines 92, 93 are heavily accentuated by the author intentionally with a view to producing a certain rhetorical effect suitable to the announcement of the priest. In line 3 'vitas patrum' must be read with 'versetzter Betonung'; 'Maria' in lines 31 and 74 must be scanned Márià, in 107 and 124, Márja.

As the poem is so short and it is not possible to differentiate between the dialectic peculiarities of author and copyist, the orthography of the MS. has been retained. Additions, however, which are obviously due to the copyist, are enclosed in round brackets, emendations of my own in square brackets. I am also responsible for the punctuation.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

Du solt eren die syben gezyt!	[fol. 322 b]
In eyne buche geschriben lyt—	
Daz ist vitas patrum genant,	
Daz vil luten ist bekant—	
5 Daz zu eyne male were	
Ein rytter erbere.	

1 solt] MS. sol.

5 Daz] MS. man saget daz.

- Da er daz sin hatte verdan,
 Da müste ez an ein rauben gan.
 Daz sprechwort uns leret:
- 10 Wer daz sin verzeret
 Daz er numme enhat,
 Ander (lude) gut er nachgat*,
 Den sinen ist er unwert!
 Er ist ein dor[e der] des gert.
- 15 Der ritter, als ich han gesaget,
 Hatte sich verdobet und verjaget.
 Er gedachte: 'du must dich fristen
 Diner nachgebüre kisten:
 Sie sint so vol von gude.'
- 20 In dem bosen mude,
 So stal er alles daz er fant. [323 a]
 Da(r) begunde er altzū hand
 Morden und[e] rauben,
 Doch hatte er cristen glauben.
- 25 Wār er quam in daz lant,
 Daz yme die glocken daten bekant
 Die rechten syben gezyde(n),
 Nit langer wolt er byde(n),
 Wie so er were in bosheit,
- 30 Ein paternoster waz yme bereit
 Und ein avemaria:
 Die zwene formet er yesa
 Zū allen syben stūnden
 Gotdes heiligen funff wūnden,
- 35 Daz er numer müste ersterben,
 Er ensolte da myde herwerben
 Den lycham und daz [frone] brot
 Daz die sele spyset vor den dot.
 Vorbas endet er numer güt,
- 40 Aber quam in sinen müt,
 Er muste steln umb lybes nar.
 Dez die lute wurden gewar.

* After line 12 in the MS. follow two lines which are an evident interpolation:
 So er dan nume enhat So enhulffet dan nit alle verdat. 22 Da begunde etc.]
 MS. Dar altzu hant Begunde er morden und rauben. 32 zwene] MS. zwey.
 42 die lute wurden] MS. wurden die lute.

- Sie begünden in fangen
 Und an einen galgen hangen. [323 b]
- 45 Der rytter vor dem galgen sprach:
 'Och, daz ez ye geschach,
 Daz klagen ich got durch sinen dot.
 Gedenke min armen mannes not
 Maria, here konigin.
- 50 Min(e) sele dir müsse befolhen sin.'
 Daz ding nit langer wart gespart,
 Der rytter schiere erhanget wart.
 Alda so hing er lange stünt.
 Do wart eyne andren ritter künd,
- 55 Daz er nit enmochte vermyden,
 Er enmüste ryden
 Vor dem galgen hin ein pfat.
 Syme gesellen hatte er gesat,
 Wie des lybes ein fromer man
- 60 Von dem leben also were getan,
 Und daz ez schade were:
 Er were ein ryttere.
 So sie also myteinander ryden,
 Gros ruffen wart da nit vermyden:
- 65 'Komet her, durch den richen got
 Zü myner bitterlichen not.'
 Die zwen[e] da gewanten, [324 a]
 Zü dem galgen sie ranten,
 (Sie sprachen:) 'Bist du gehure das tu kunt?'
- 70 Da sprach der dyep da zu stünt:
 'Ich bin gehuer und leben noch,
 Syt daz man mich an den galgen zoch.
 Min lip were zü hant verzeit,
 Dan Maria die reine meit,
- 75 Die treyt und[e] hebet mich,
 Daz sagen ich uch sicherlich,
 Alles durch ein clein(es) gebet
 Daz ich degelichen det
 Zu allen syben stünden.
- 80 Daz han ich nü befunden;

48 min] MS. mich.

49 here] MS. herre.

50 dir müsse] MS. müsse dir.

57 ein] MS. einen.

- Daz sie mich trostet und ir kint.
 Ich waz gar an wytzen blint.
 Der helffe zwyfelt ich an ir.
 Durch got nu g[e]leubet mir
 85 Und lesset mir myn(e) swere,
 Bit eyne bichtere.
 Die zwene schiere quamen,
 Da sie einen pryster vernamen,
 Dem daten sie daz wunder kunt d.
 90 Der pryster zu der selben stünt d
 Det d einen aplas luden,
 Und kün te den luden
 Allen besünder
 Daz bezeichnenliche wunder.
 95 Got des lycham sie namen
 Und zu dem galgen quamen.
 Der dyeb [der] wart her abe getan,
 Off synen knychen bleib er stan,
 Dem pryster bichte er sine schült.
 100 Der pryster sprach: 'got ist uch holt.'
 Der dyeb sprach: 'herre in got des namen
 Gebent mir got des lychamen,
 Daz ich damyde sy bewart
 Vor der hellischen vart,
 105 Daz er mich müsse wyse(n)
 Zü dem vronen paradyse(n).
 Dez hilff mir Maria konigin,
 Und wollest min geleyde sin.
 Vor der leyde[n] fynde scharn
 110 Wollest du mich, maget, bewarn.'
 Die lude sprachen (alle) amen.
 Den fronen lychamen
 In sine sele er enphing.
 Zü hant also daz verging,
 115 Da sach man an der stelle lyn
 Ein cleines esschen heuffelyn.
 Des tyebes lip waz verwesen,
 Er enhorte nit me lesen.

[324 b]

- Und sagen ich uch besünder
120 Daz also gros[e] wunder,
Wie Maria die here konigin
Kan der sündler troster sin.
Wer zwyfelt nu daran,
Sit Maria yren dynstman
125 Also wol hatte getrost
Daz er off der hellen rost,
Oder ye queme (dan) in daz fegefuer
Von der reinen maget duer.
Nu merckent alle gottes' kind
130 Wie mylt(e) got und sin(e) mutter sind.
Daz der dyep sie eret syben stüntd
Tegeliches, des wart yme küntd,
Ane alle myssewende,
Die hymelsche freyde an ende,
135 Ane leit und ane not.
Dez hylff uns (auch) Crist durch dinen dot.

AMEN.

132 des] MS. daz.

REVIEWS.

Calderon-Studien. Von H. BREYMANN. I Teil: *Die Calderon-Literatur.* Eine bibliographisch-kritische Übersicht. München und Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1905. 8vo. xii + 314 pp.

If the continuation of this monograph fulfils the promise of the First Part Dr Breymann will have done for students of Calderón what Professor Rennert has done for students of Calderón's great predecessor and master. A table of manuscripts of dramatic pieces, poems and prose-writings is followed by an elaborate list of printed editions, of recasts, of imitations and renderings in fifteen languages, and to this is added a singularly useful series of references to the many special treatises and still more numerous articles in which the genius of Calderón is examined. The bibliography of Calderón cannot compare with the bibliography of Lope de Vega in extent; but it abounds with difficulties, and only an expert can form an idea of the amount of labour needed to solve the problems which present themselves at every step. Dr Breymann's book embodies the results of twenty years' work, and a comparison with Barrera's *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* suffices to show how many deficiencies have been made good. Thus on p. 54 Barrera mentions that two plays by Calderón are contained in *Parte veinte y ocho de comedias de varios autores* (Huesca, 1634); to the plays given by Barrera (*Un castigo en tres venganzas* and *La devoción de la cruz*) should be added *Amor, honor y poder* which, under the title of *La Industria contra el poder*, is wrongly ascribed by the publisher to Lope de Vega. The necessary correction is made by Dr Breymann on p. 55. Again, Barrera states (p. 50) that the *Primera Parte* and the *Segunda Parte* of Calderón's theatre were issued by his brother José Calderón in 1640 and 1641 respectively. The existence in the British Museum Library of a copy of the *Segunda Parte* dated 1637 proves that Barrera was mistaken, and the real facts are fully set out by Dr Breymann in an excellent note (pp. 39-40). Once more Barrera points out (p. 54) that *La Hija del aire* is included in *Parte cuarenta y dos de diferentes autores*, but he leaves it to Dr Breymann to observe (p. 57) that the piece is here ascribed to Enríquez Gómez. And there are dozens of similar corrections and addenda, each of which represents long and careful research.

No one can fail to be struck with the author's sound method and learning, but no bibliography can be perfect, and no apology is needed for making a few of the suggestions which Dr Breymann invites. Valuable as his book is, its usefulness would be increased by the addition of an alphabetical table of Calderón's plays modelled upon the list appended to Professor Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega* (pp. 490-538). On p. 41 the *Quarta Parte* of Calderón's theatre is assigned conjecturally to 1672 on the strength of the fact that the 'Privilegio' was granted on March 18 of that year: it is beyond doubt that the volume was published in 1672 by José Fernández de Buendía. No answer is given to Barrera's query (p. 54) as to which part of *La Hija del aire* appears in *Parte cuarenta y dos de diferentes autores*: it is the second part. The existence of a *Septima Parte* of Calderón's theatre, dated 1682, is perhaps doubtful (p. 43). It would be worth noting (p. 58) that the official 'Aprobación' to the *Primera Parte de comedias escogidas*, containing five of Calderón's plays, is signed by Calderón himself. With regard to the *Parte Sexta de varias comedias* (p. 59) it is scarcely enough to say: "Die Jahreszahl (1649) ist offenbar falsch." It is to all appearance merely a collection of *sueltas* of the plays contained in the *Parte sexta* (Zaragoza, 1649): the circumstance that the pagination is not continuous points to that conclusion. *Los Empeños de seis horas*, the source of Tuke's *Adventures of five hours*, is assuredly not by Calderón, and may possibly be by Coello; but Coello's authorship should not be assumed as a matter of course (p. 112). When and by whom was this ascription first advanced, and what are the arguments in its favour? The identification of Erauso y Zabaleta with Ignacio de Loyola Oránguren is plausible enough to deserve mention on p. 230. Dr Breymann states (p. 112) that he has been unable to find a copy of FitzGerald's translation of *El Mágico prodigioso*: FitzGerald's rendering of *La Vida es sueño* has likewise escaped him. So, too, he has overlooked Fanny Holcroft's prose versions of *Mejor está que estaba* and *Peor está que estaba* published in Thomas Holcroft's *Theatrical Recorder*: on the other hand, one would hardly gather from him (p. 113) that Lord Bristol's versions of these two plays had disappeared. I may refer Dr Breymann to p. 340 of my *Littérature espagnole* for three plays of Calderón's utilised by Mr Bridges in *The Humours of the Court*, *The Christian Captives*, and *Achilles in Scyros*, and for a play by Heiberg which should be included among the Danish adaptations on p. 78. These omissions are easily remedied: they do not detract from the merit of Dr Breymann's book. It will be invaluable to every serious student of Spanish literature.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

Friedrich von Schwaben. Aus der Stuttgarter Handschrift herausgegeben von M. H. JELLINEK (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, herausgegeben von der königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. I), Berlin: Weidmann, 1904. xxii. + 127 pp.

Kleinere mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte. I. *Die Melker Handschrift.* Herausgegeben von A. LEITZMANN (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, Bd. IV), Berlin: Weidmann, 1904. xiv. + 55 pp.

Die vorliegenden zwei Bände bieten in sorgfältigem Druck und guter Ausstattung die ersten Früchte jenes von der deutschen Kommission der preussischen Akademie ins Leben gerufenen, grossartigen Unternehmens, dessen endgültiges Ziel heisst: eine Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Sprache und der grosse thesaurus linguae Germanicae. Als unerlässliche Vorbedingungen bezeichnet die Akademie eine umfassende Handschriftenkunde des deutschen Mittelalters und eine möglichst rasche Publikation bisher ungedruckter prosaischer und poetischer Litteraturwerke des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts. Während es naturgemäss noch eine Reihe von Jahren dauern wird, ehe die Inventarisierung der handschriftlichen Schätze, geschweige denn die Sichtung und methodische Ausschrotung der an der Centrale zusammenströmenden Beschreibungen zu Ende geführt sein wird, kann jede einzelne Textpublikation als ein in sich abgeschlossenes Ganzes sofort dem Kreise der Fachgenossen vorgelegt werden. Litterarhistoriker wie Sprachforscher werden der Akademie hiefür frohen Dank wissen.

Über den *Friedrich von Schwaben*, mit dem Jellinek die Reihe dieser Texte eröffnet, besitzen wir zwar seit 1895 eine Arbeit¹, die sich mit der Überlieferung und Verfasserschaft des Gedichtes beschäftigt, aber noch fehlte der von Voss dort versprochene Text, und somit für die meisten Forscher die Möglichkeit, sich ein selbstständiges Urteil über dieses Erzeugnis der Epigonenlitteratur zu bilden. Diese Lücke in unserem Wissen füllt nun Jellinek aus, soweit dies durch den sorgfältigen Abdruck einer Handschrift möglich ist — denn kritische Ausgaben liegen nicht im Plane der Akademie. Diese Beschränkung auf einen einzigen Zeugen, welche auf den ersten Blick die Arbeit des Herausgebers zu vereinfachen scheint, birgt bei näherem Zusehen mancherlei und keineswegs unerhebliche Schwierigkeiten, soll anders der abgedruckte Text für wissenschaftliche Zwecke erspriesslich sein. Der Herausgeber muss sich notgedrungen in alle wichtigen, das Denkmal und seine Überlieferung betreffenden Fragen einen gesunden Einblick verschafft haben, bei dem Leser aber das Gefühl hervorrufen, er sei Herr des Stoffes, wisse mehr darüber, als ihm hier zu sagen oder auch nur anzudeuten möglich ist. Diesen Eindruck

¹ L. Voss, *Überlieferung und Verfasserschaft des mhd. Ritterromans Friedrich von Schwaben*. Münster, 1895.

gewährt m.E. Jellineks Arbeit; er scheint mir mit Glück die Methode bezeichnet zu haben, der andere Mitarbeiter an dieser Sammlung in ähnlich liegenden Fällen zu folgen haben möchten.

Mit guten Gründen hat Jellinek zunächst aus dem vorhandenen handschriftlichen Material die Stuttgarter Hs. (S) ausgewählt. Nur über den, Seite xx, ausgesprochenen allgemeinen Gesichtspunkt liesse sich rechten, ob bei umfangreicheren Texten Hss., welche bloß von einem Schreiber hergestellt sind, den Vorzug verdienten. Jellinek gibt ferner (S. xviii) eine gedrängte Übersicht über das Handschriftenverhältnis im Anschluss an Voss, dessen Schema er auf Grund eigener Beschäftigung mit dem Gedicht in allen Hauptsachen übernimmt, während er ihn in Einzelheiten berichtigt, resp. seine Beobachtungen weiter ausbaut und stützt (S. xix, Anm. 2 und S. xx). Dieser Abschnitt setzt uns bequem in den Stand, bei der Lektüre des Abdrucks die Stellung von S im Schema und den kritischen Wert der anderen Zeugen entnommenen Lesarten uns stets zu vergegenwärtigen. Unter den letzteren—nur eine Auswahl entspricht dem Programm der Akademie—gewährt er den von der Hs. I^a (Wiener Codex) gebotenen Varianten mit Recht grösseren Spielraum (vgl. besonders zu V. 2062–98, 4808–33), weil die hier überlieferte Fassung dem Originale am nächsten kommt. Da er daneben auch angibt, welche Verse I^a fehlen und welche es allein bringt, so ist damit der kritischen Beschäftigung mit dem Text eine gute Handhabe geboten und das um so mehr, als auch Varianten der übrigen Hss., von D und W abgesehen, herangezogen sind, hauptsächlich um 'die Verbesserung eines Fehlers in S an die Hand zu geben oder zu zeigen, dass eine Korruptel in S wahrscheinlich schon der Vorlage angehört.' In diesem letzteren Falle hat Jellinek stets von einer Emendation des Fehlers in S abgesehen (vgl. z.B. zu V. 758, 937, 1587, 1592, 4987, etc.), gleicherweise dort, wo der Schreiber von S sich etwas gedacht haben kann (vgl. z.B. zu V. 671, oder besonders den ganzen Vers 2789). Vielleicht ist er hier in seiner konservierenden Tendenz gelegentlich zu weit gegangen. So möchte ich meinen, dass getrost V. 383: 'hastu,' V. 1680: 'üch,' V. 6056: 'din mund,' nach Ausweis der beigegebenen Lesarten in den Text hätte gesetzt werden dürfen. Andererseits scheinen mir die V. 6343–46 richtig überliefert, nur ist 'uff das hopt' (6345) mit 'zü der selben stett' (6344) zu verbinden und nach 6343 ein Komma zu setzen. 'Er nahm die Wurzel, die ihm Pragnet gegeben hatte, ganz an dieselbe Stelle auf sein Haupt, wo er sie hingelegt hatte, als...'

Für den Ausfall zweier *Wigalois* Verse zwischen 5804 und 5805 dürfte wol eher ein Schreiber auf einer frühen Stufe der Überlieferung verantwortlich zu machen sein, als der Verfasser, dem sein Gedächtnis einen Streich gespielt hätte. Wie ungescheut übrigens die Verfasser des *Friedrich* aus der älteren Dichtung entlehnten, das zu überblicken gestattet erst der Abdruck Jellineks, nachdem bereits Voss einiges Material zusammengestellt hatte. Sein Hauptaugenmerk richtet Jellinek dabei auf die grossen dekadenweisen Entlehnungen (S. xxi), selten handelt es sich ihm um den Nachweis des Originals zu kürzeren

Stellen. Hier bleibt natürlich noch manches zu tun übrig. So schöpfen die Lehren des sterbenden Vaters (V. 33–52) zum Teil—and dann meist wörtlich—aus dem *deutschen Cato*, wie ihn die Hss. Add. 16581 und Add. 10010 des British Museum enthalten:

Hab lieb vor allen dingen gott
 Das ist mein ler vnd mein gebott
 Du solt dich erbarmen
 An dem gericht über die armen....
 Sprich recht vrtail
 Dein Zung sey dir nit fail
 Stand vnrechtz niemätz bey
 Wie lieb dir auch der freund sey
 Vor got wirt er verschmacht
 Wer vnrecht zů Recht macht. (35—38, 41—46.)

So sind die V. 985–86 wörtlich dem *Busant*, 359–360 entnommen; und in den Reimen der V. 71–74 klingt deutlich der *Partenopier* V. 431–34 wieder, der ja inhaltlich, wie bekannt, für diesen ganzen Abschnitt die Vorlage bildet.

Jener eingehenden Beobachtung der Arbeitsweise der Verfasser gegenüber fällt es auf, dass Jellinek mit keinem Wort in seiner Einleitung zur Verfasserfrage selbst Stellung nimmt und sich auch da mit Voss kurz auseinandersetzt, der diese Frage, wie mir scheint, mit wenig Glück angeschnitten hat. Es kann m.E. kaum ein höherer Kreis gewesen sein, für dessen Unterhaltung dieses Sammelsurium aus älteren Litteraturwerken bestimmt war, und auch das will mir nicht in den Sinn, in dem ursprünglichen Dichter einen höheren Hofbeamten, des herzoglichen Geschlechtes von Teck, in dem Interpolator einen Geistlichen zu erblicken. Gewiss hat sich Jellinek auch in dieser Hinsicht sein Urteil gebildet; warum hält er es uns vor?

Starkes Gewicht fällt der Absicht dieser Sammlung entsprechend auf jene Partien der Einleitung, die sich mit der Beschreibung der ausgewählten Hs. und mit der Darstellung der Abweichungen des Abdruckes vom Lautbild derselben beschäftigen (S. xi–xviii). Hier hat Jellinek es verstanden, vor dem Leser ein lebendiges Bild der Hs., als deren ersten Besitzer er den mit Barbara von Flersheim vermählten Philipp von Dalburg (†1492) nachweist, erstehen zu lassen, indem er in knapper, doch überall klarer Form die Zusammensetzung des Codex, sein Äusseres, seine Entstehung und Ausschmückung behandelt. Ein paar Worte mehr hätten da den Verweis auf Wüsts Beschreibung (S. xiii), die er ja doch im Vorausgehenden z.T. berichtigt, z.T. weiterführt, unnötig gemacht. Zur Bestimmung des Verhältnisses der ersten Lagen (S. xiii, Anm. 2) hätte vielleicht die Beobachtung der Wasserzeichenfolge verhelfen können. Aus der folgenden Darstellung der Abweichungen vom Lautbild der Hs. sei nur des interessanten und gewiss seltenen (ich habe mehrere schwäbische Hss. daraufhin vergeblich durchgesehen) Schreiberprinzips gedacht, das Jellinek gut herausgefühlt und nicht minder in konsequenter Durchführung für die leichtere Lesbarkeit des Abdruckes benutzt hat, nämlich der angestrebten Scheidung (vgl. Faksimile, Z. 2 von unten 'schäwent')

zwischen der Bezeichnung des Umlauts und der schwäbischen u-Diphthonge.

Ein Namen- und Wortverzeichnis, das neben seltenen oder nicht belegten Ausdrücken auch solche berücksichtigt, deren ursprüngliche Bedeutung sich bereits geändert hat, sowie eine Seite der Hs. in Faksimile beschliessen den Band. Bei dem empfindlichen Mangel photographischer Nachbildungen deutscher Hss. aus dem Zeitraum, den diese Texte umspannen sollen, wird der Wunsch gerechtfertigt erscheinen, die Verlagsbuchhandlung möchte, sobald eine genügende Zahl von Publikationen vorhanden ist, eine Separatausgabe der dazugehörigen Faksimiles veranstalten.

Kürzer darf ich mich bei der Besprechung der Leitzmannschen Publikation halten. Der Beisatz 'I. *Die Melker Handschrift*' deutet jedenfalls dahin, dass der Abdruck anderer Sammlungen dieses wichtigen, an individueller Auffassung so reichen Zweiges der mittelalterlichen Kleinliteratur geplant ist. Die Melker Hs., nach Jensens Urteil die beste und reinste Sammlung Strickerscher Gedichte, enthält nur die eine Seite derselben, nämlich Gedichte moralischen Inhalts—das *bispe*, nur ihre beiden letzten Stücke, ein *deutscher Cato* und ein *Mariengruss*, treten aus diesem Rahmen. Aus dieser schon öfters benutzten und beschriebenen Hs. teilt Leitzmann unter Herbeiziehung von Lesarten der Heidelberger Hs. 341 achtundzwanzig noch ungedruckte Stücke mit, während er von acht anderen, die bereits aus anderen Codices veröffentlicht vorliegen, die Abweichungen des Melker Textes in der Einleitung verzeichnet. Auf eine Zusammenstellung der Quellen für die einzelnen Stücke verzichtet er mit Recht, da ja erst aus der Inventarisierung der deutschen Hss. eine vollständige Übersicht zu erwarten steht. Dagegen wäre eine wenn auch noch so knappe Orientierung über den Stand der Verfasserfrage am Platze gewesen. In der Beschreibung der Hs. kommt Leitzmann nicht sonderlich über seine Vorgänger hinaus. Die Darstellung des Linienschemas ist nach dem beigegebenen Faksimile zu urteilen, nicht erschöpfend, und auch die Bemerkung (S. vi) über der Mitte jeder Seite stehe bis S. 159 die No. des Gedichtes mit roter Farbe, wird dadurch nicht bestätigt, denn XV (III) steht hier am äusseren Rande. In dem Wortverzeichnis war das erst erschlossene 'sint Meeresflut?' kaum aufzunehmen; man wird mit dem handschriftlichen 'sinne' (vgl. das entsprechende 'der vertte,' V. 80) auszukommen haben.

R. PRIEBSCH.

The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare.

BY WILFRID PERRETT. (*Palaestra*, Vol. xxxv.) Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1904. 8vo. x + 308 pp.

The historical investigation of the stories which medieval chroniclers and Elizabethan poets and playwrights have handled and bequeathed to those who have come after them, until at last the plastic material has taken its final and imperishable shape in the dramas of Shakespeare,

is a form of study which has been pursued with conspicuous success under the guidance of Professor Brandl at Berlin. Prof. Churchill's *Richard III. up to Shakespeare*, and Dr Kröger's *Die Sage von Macbeth bis zu Shakespeare*, have now been followed by Dr Perrett's study of *King Lear*, a piece of research which maintains throughout the high standard of excellence reached by Dr Perrett's predecessors. It is, indeed, only just to say that *The Story of King Lear* is one of the most valuable studies of Shakespearean sources which have as yet been produced, and that its value is the greater because of its freedom from the pedantry which the study of sources often engenders. No subsequent editor of *King Lear* can afford to ignore either the conclusions which Dr Perrett has arrived at, or the textual criticism which he furnishes in elucidating some of the obscurer passages of the play.

The work falls naturally into two parts: the *King Lear* story before Shakespeare, and Shakespeare's use of, and divergence from, earlier versions of it. The starting-point of the story is, of course, Geoffrey of Monmouth, but Dr Perrett endeavours to go behind Geoffrey and to show that the story of Lear and his daughters, with the love-test as pivot, rests upon a widely disseminated 'Märchen' of popular folklore of which the outline is as follows: 'A king asks his three daughters how much they love him. The first two give pleasing answers, the third displeases him by saying she loves him like salt. She is driven forth, but obtains aid, a disguise and menial employment. A prince falls in love with her and marries her. The father learns the value of salt by having saltless food set before him, and is reconciled.' This 'loving like salt' story, Perrett argues, is by Geoffrey gathered round the person of Lear, 'a shadowy figure of Celtic mythology.' But while the folktale ends happily, Geoffrey adds a tragic sequel, and narrates the story of Cordelia's subsequent misfortunes and her death by suicide. Such, we are told, is the genesis of the story, and it is an unconscious tribute to the plausibility of Perrett's contention for a folklore origin that many critics of Shakespeare's play have found fault with its plot, and above all, with its opening scene, on the score that it savours rather of a fairy-tale than of historic probability.

Perrett next proceeds to deal with the many versions of the story which lie between Geoffrey and Shakespeare, and of which he has, with painstaking industry, collected over fifty. A 'pedigree of the story' which is prefixed to the book, clearly shows the relation which all these bear to their prototype, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and to each other. Most of the versions are naturally treated in a summary manner, but a fuller analysis is meted out to Layamon, upon whose treatment of the *Lear* story Perrett rightly bestows high praise, to Higgins's rendering in the *Mirror for Magistrates* and to the old play. Perrett wisely abstains from attributing the last-mentioned either to Kyd or Lodge, and contents himself with making a careful study of its chief sources, Warner's *Albion*, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, and the *Fuerie Queene*. The first part of the work concludes with a careful examination of the *Ballad of King Lear*, of which a reprint is given. Perrett is in agree-

ment with most critics that the ballad is post-Shakespearean, and, with a refinement of criticism that the subject scarcely warrants, endeavours to prove that the ballad-maker had seen the play but not read it, and that he had recourse to Holinshed for certain details of the story.

It is no easy task to follow Perrett in his examination of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, and we could wish that in his endeavour to show Shakespeare's dependence upon his sources he had followed a clearer and more orderly method. But if the task is difficult, it is one which brings with it its reward. Perrett devotes considerable space to the interpretation of the first scene of the play, and, thanks to a masterly exposition of it in the light of the sources, has done more than any one to clear up the difficulties which this scene presents. Put very baldly, his conclusions as to the meaning of the scene are as follows. The whole of the trial scene is a trick contrived by Lear after he has made up his mind as to the division of the kingdom, in order to afford Cordelia an opportunity of showing herself more worthy than her sisters of that more opulent third which Lear has determined to bestow upon her. It will be seen that Perrett is here, up to a certain point, following the lead of Coleridge; but in his contention that the coronet which Lear gives to Albany and Cornwall (i. i. 140) was not his own crown, but a coronet intended for Cordelia, he is breaking entirely new ground. The bestowal of the coronet upon Cordelia is the 'darker purpose' of i. i. 34, which has proved a stumbling-block for so many editors of the play, and its actual bestowal upon Albany and Cornwall is meant to symbolise Cordelia's complete disinheritance.

In his examination of the play in the light of Shakespeare's sources, Perrett brings a good deal of valuable material to light. He is of the opinion that Shakespeare had access to no less than six earlier versions of the *King Lear* story, quite apart, of course, from the Gloucester plot, with which he is not concerned. He differs from most critics in considering Shakespeare's debt to Holinshed very small, agrees with Anders and others as to the borrowings from the *Faery Queene*, and devotes a very careful study to the relations of *King Lear* to the old play. He allows that 'wherever the old play offered a hint for effective action, Shakespeare did not disdain to accept it,' and that the character of Kent is based on Perillus. But Perrett's chief interest in his study of the sources of *King Lear* is to prove that Shakespeare had gone direct to the fountain-head of the story and had not only read, but had made considerable use of, Geoffrey of Monmouth. The old play, with its bourgeois king and its happy ending, could not, he contends, have suggested Shakespeare's tragic setting or have furnished any idea of a monarch so majestic as his Lear. Nor could such earlier renderings of the story as that of the *Faerie Queene*, Holinshed, or the *Mirror for Magistrates*, have contributed anything of value. Guided then by the marginal reference to 'Gal. Mon.' in Holinshed's version, he went to Geoffrey of Monmouth, and found there not only the tragic sequel to the story, but also a Lear who was 'every inch a king.' To many the transformation of the bourgeois Lear of the old play into the heroic

figure of Shakespeare's tragedy will seem but one of many instances of that alchemy by the possession of which Shakespeare is Shakespeare; the difference between his Lear and the Leir of the old play is not greater than that between his Henry V. and the Henry V. of the *Famous Victories*, or that between his Macbeth and Holinshed's.

But while Perrett's main thesis fails to carry with it full conviction, he brings forward collateral evidence which points very directly to the fact that Shakespeare, for all his 'small Latin,' was well acquainted with Geoffrey's story. Put briefly, this evidence is as follows: (1) Shakespeare agrees with Geoffrey in making the Duke of Albany the husband of Goneril, and Cornwall the husband of Regan; (2) the distribution of two-thirds of Lear's kingdom between Goneril and Regan is found in Geoffrey and in only one other version of the story—the French *Perceforest* of 1528—which could have been accessible to Shakespeare; (3) the pretexts mentioned by Shakespeare's Goneril and Regan for reducing Lear's train are found only in Geoffrey; (4) the Gentleman, who in the First Folio is the confidant of Lear and Cordelia (IV. iv. and IV. vii.), and who in the First Quarto is replaced by the Doctor, corresponds so closely to Geoffrey's 'nuncius' that it is only by help of the original story that we can understand his share in the action; (5) the difference between the two dukes of Albany and Cornwall is the direct outcome of the parts they play in Geoffrey. It would be easy to belittle the value of any one of these points of correspondence, if taken separately, but it must be confessed that their cumulative effect is very great.

It is scarcely necessary to bear further witness to the painstaking research and judicious temper which Dr Perrett displays throughout his work. He shows at times the impatience of the specialist for those who, working on a larger field, have fallen into errors from which he has escaped, but in clearing away numerous pitfalls he has earned the gratitude of every right-minded Shakespearean scholar.

F. W. MOORMAN.

The Squyr of Lowe Degre. A Middle English Metrical Romance. Edited by W. E. MEAD (The Albion Series of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry: J. W. BRIGHT and G. L. KITTREDGE, General Editors). Boston: Ginn and Co., 1904. 8vo. lxxxv + 111 pp.

We offer a hearty welcome to this volume—the first, as far as we know—of the 'Albion Series,' which, if the present high standard be maintained, will bid fair to rival the 'Athenaeum Series' issued by the same publishers. It is pleasant to regard the projection of these series as an indication that, in America, Messrs Ginn and Co. can venture to put forth publicly the same kind of scholarly editions which, in England, require the support of such admirable but collaborative bodies as the Early English Text Society. And the names of Professors Bright and

Kittredge, as general editors of the series, guarantee careful and trustworthy work.

Side by side with similar workmanlike editions, we should like to see the text pure and simple of these Romances printed cheaply in an easily intelligible form for the general reader. So far from nullifying the circulation of the more learned edition, such reprints would whet the appetite of the reader to proceed to a closer study of the original poem. For, if we disagree with Professor Mead in any point, it is with his somewhat derogatory dismissal of the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* as of small literary value. Naturally one does not turn to the old Romances for 'high seriousness'; but they are life, sometimes crude, sometimes surprisingly modern, always naively true and real.

The Squyr of Lowe Degre is preserved in two forms: the first consists of two fragments attributed to Wynkyn de Worde (Britwell Library), comprising only 180 lines; the second is a single copy, in the British Museum, of an edition by William Copland. There is also, it is true, a short version in the Percy Folio; but this is a hundred years later than Copland's. The first of these we have been unable to collate; but a comparison of the Copland text with Professor Mead's gives us every reason to estimate the accuracy of his work very highly. We note a slight carelessness in unrecorded variations between capital and lower-case letters; 'v' for 'u' throughout; and a very few minor errors. In line 78, a close inspection suggests that the second 'l' of 'gentell'—very much blurred as Professor Mead remarks—is not a letter at all, but a 'space-up.' In the colophon, the last letter of 'degr[e]' is broken right out.

These, however, are details, and do not in the least detract from the merits of the careful work lavished on the edition. The Notes and the Introduction err, if at all, in the direction of redundancy of illustration, but are amazingly full of information. We wish some one would identify, once for all, the trees and birds that occur in the Romances, especially the bird that is spelled 'wode-wale' or 'wit-wall' or anything between the two. Percy, Phillips, Ritson, Hazlitt, Murray, Child, Hales and Furnivall have between them collected information to indicate that the bird is (i) a woodpecker, (ii) a 'kind of thrush,' (iii) a woodlark, (iv) a redbreast, (v) a golden ouzle (?), (vi) a greenfinch, (vii) a nuthatch.

F. SIDGWICK.

Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri. Nuovamente rivedute nel testo dal Dr E. MOORE, con indice dei nomi propri e delle cose notabile compilato dal Dr PAGET TOYNBEE. Terza edizione più estesamente riveduta. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904. 8vo. xii + 490 pp.

The second edition of the Oxford Dante, which appeared 1897, was comparatively unimportant, being marked by no new features, and differing from the first merely in the correction of certain misprints and errors of punctuation. Of the third edition the same cannot be said.

The diligent labours of Dr Moore and Dr Toynbee with the help, for the *Quaestio*, of Dr Shadwell, have brought the text and the index in almost every respect abreast of modern research. There are perhaps only two points in which a fourth edition may be expected to shew material improvement, and both are connected with the *Canzoniere*. The reviewer in the *Bulletino* of the Italian Dante Society points out, and no doubt with reason, that this section of the Oxford book, even with the addition of the Forese-Dante *Tenzzone*, remains incomplete—‘rimangon fuori tante altre rime di sicura appartenenza al poeta, sparsamente edite’ (*Bull.* xii. 48). The second point is the text itself; we are still waiting for a critical edition from Italy.

The addition to the *Canzoniere* of the three pairs of sonnets which form the so-called *Tenzzone* between Dante and Forese Donati has been very cleverly managed, so that the paging remains the same as that of the two earlier editions. The *Tenzzone* (if we except certain small but not unimportant additions in Dr Toynbee’s index) is the only really new element in the book; but it represents the very least part of the labour that has been expended upon this edition. For the text of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* Dr Moore (or rather Dr Toynbee) has now availed himself of the results of Prof. Rajna’s labours, published already a year before the second edition of the Oxford Dante was issued. Rajna’s text has, however, been modified here and there in favour of the best ms. authority; and the Oxford editor has not adopted Rajna’s archaic orthography.

The text of the *Convivio*, though less radically reformed, has been considerably ameliorated by the indefatigable editor, who has consulted all known MSS. of any value on points where the received text seemed most dubious or corrupt. Dr Moore has thus accomplished for the *Convivio* what he did ten years earlier for the *Divina Commedia*. The *Eclogae* have had the benefit of the critical editions of Wicksteed and Gardner in England and Albini in Italy. Finally, the text of the *Quaestio* has been revised throughout by Dr Shadwell, the vindicator of the authenticity of that treatise. The index also has been revised and improved by its original compiler, Dr Toynbee, who besides his special work upon the *Eloquentia*, has collaborated with Dr Moore in the revision of the entire work. It is noticeable that here in the index, as in the case of the *Canzoniere*, additions have been made without disturbing the original paging. Thus, under *Muse* on p. 469 an additional reference to *Ecl.* ii. 65—6 has been inserted; and lower down the double reference to ‘Muso Phrygius’ and ‘Musato, Albertino’: and again on p. 475 there are additional references under *Polenta* to ‘Guido Novello’ and ‘Guido Vecchio’: but in spite of such additions the total number of pages remains the same. The case here is obviously on a different footing from that of the text itself, where for purposes of reference uniformity between the successive editions is desirable, especially when the text has become a standard one abroad as well as in England. And we are inclined to think that the index-matter would be more convenient for use if it were more generously spaced and spread

over a larger number of pages. Some of the minor alterations in the index are referable to alterations in the text: thus 'Rex Navarrae' is now read in the *Eloquentia* in place of 'Navarriae': and the result is, naturally, not merely the omission of a single letter in the index, but the transposition of two items. In small things, as in great, no labour has been spared. The learned scholars, with Dr Moore at their head, who have accomplished this revision are to be congratulated on their success, and still more is the generation of English Dantists to be congratulated who will enter into their labours. The 'Oxford Dante' provides at once an inspiring monument of learning and critical acumen, and a sound basis for future work.

LONSDALE RAGG.

MINOR NOTICES.

La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento. Da J. E. SPINGARN. Traduzione italiana del Dr ANTONIO FUSCO, con correzioni e aggiunte dell'autore e prefazione di B. CROCE. Bari: Laterza, 1905. 8vo. xii+ 358 pp.

We congratulate Mr Spingarn on the appearance of this Italian edition of his *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899) from the pen of Dr Antonio Fusco. The author has availed himself of the opportunity to make some valuable additions, notably in the references to the works on criticism which have appeared since the publication of the English text, and in the extensive bibliography at the end. The most important alteration in the text is the expansion of the last paragraph (p. 310) into a 'Conclusion' of eighteen pages, based on the author's article on the *Origins of Modern Criticism*, which appeared in *Modern Philology* (Chicago), in April, 1904. It is clear that Mr Spingarn's study of the subject is deepening, with great profit to his readers and credit to himself; and we may expect, from certain hints in his new 'Avvertenza,' some further additions when his American and English public call for a reprint.

Signor Croce has written a Preface which would have been more acceptable had it been less polemical and personal. It is little more than a counter reply to Mr Saintsbury's retort in the third volume of his *History of Criticism* (pp. 141—145) on the philosopher's part in critical discussion. There is perhaps some Humanistic appropriateness in this give and take by two eminent critics, who are after all not in such serious opposition as would appear; but the more personal elements in the *querelle* might have been reserved for the Reviews. What was wanted from Signor Croce's most competent pen was not a fighting tract supporting Mr Spingarn's attacks on the *History of Criticism*, but an introduction to the Italian reader, pointing out the excellence of this pioneer attempt to interpret and place the half-forgotten theories of the Italian critics of the sixteenth century.

David Garrick als Shakespeare-Darsteller und seine Bedeutung für die heutige Schauspielkunst (Schriften der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, II). Von CHRISTIAN GAEHDE. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. 8vo. xii + 198 pp.

This painstaking piece of work—the result of a prize competition instituted by the German Shakespeare Society—fills a gap in our literature on Garrick. It is valuable, however, rather as a collection of materials and data than as a contribution to criticism. As a rule, Dr Gaehde is content to take his materials as he finds them; he does not allow sufficiently for the haphazard and unreliable character of English writings on theatrical affairs, and has transferred to his pages opinions expressed about Garrick, either in the actor's own day or at subsequent periods, as if these views had all equal weight as scientific evidence. The facts of Garrick's life are presented lucidly and accurately to a public assumed to be wholly ignorant of them, but we are doubtful if the author has considered it necessary to penetrate very far on his own account into English Garrick literature. He has, at least, little or nothing to say that is new. The second, and what might have been the most valuable part of the essay, that on Garrick's importance for modern histrionic art, is, notwithstanding the assurance of the title-page, touched upon almost as perfunctorily as by our own English biographers of Garrick; there is hardly even a word on an aspect of the subject which might have been expected to interest a German investigator, the actor's very considerable influence on the development of the German theatre from Lessing and Ekhof to Schröder and Iffland. In spite of these defects, however, Dr Gaehde's book is a valuable *Vorarbeit* which students of the English theatre in the eighteenth century cannot afford to ignore.

Balzac, l'homme et l'œuvre. Par ANDRÉ LE BRETON. Paris: A. Colin, 1905. 8vo. 294 pp.

Among the multitude of books which have appeared in recent years on Balzac, the present volume takes a high place. Professor Le Breton's previous studies in the history of the French novel have given him a stronger right than most *balzaciens* to speak with authority on what might be called the genetic and comparative aspects of Balzac's work. The peculiar strength of this volume seems to us to lie in Chapters II. and III., which treat respectively 'Les origines du roman balzacien' and 'Genèse et plan de la *Comédie humaine*.' We have here, in fact, one of the few attempts which have yet been made to trace in a methodical and scholarly way the origins of a distinct type of nineteenth century fiction. And, in doing so, Professor Le Breton is able to throw fresh light on the whole literary movement of the period, and on its relations to other manifestations of romanticism in Europe. He begins by singling out and weighing the forces which moulded Balzac's youth. We are glad to see that he dismisses (p. 90) M. Louis Maigrón's attempt (*Le*

Roman historique à l'époque romantique) to find in Scott the chief inspirer of Balzac's fiction, and he discriminates with fine judgment between what in the *Comédie humaine* is of romantic origin and what is modern and realistic. Balzac's immediate predecessors are, he shows, to be sought amongst the minor scribblers of the First Empire, men like Pigault-Lebrun and Pixérécourt, who to the present generation of Frenchmen are hardly known by name. Yet, humble as this origin is, these ephemeral writers form the link which connects Balzac with the masters of the *roman bourgeois* of the eighteenth century. Professor Le Breton might perhaps have laid even more emphasis on the direct descent of the *Comédie humaine* from the many-volumed chronicles of Rétif de la Bretonne.

The later, purely critical chapters of the book, dealing with several of Balzac's typical romances, are written no less attractively than the first part, but the author's personal predilections for what he considers the healthier outlook of Corneille and Hugo, lead him to give a somewhat distorted view of Balzac's significance for the naturalistic movement. The chapter on the novelist's influence—in which the name of Zola is not even mentioned—is a meagre and disappointing close to an admirable book.

La Littérature comparée. Essai bibliographique. Par LOUIS P. BETZ. Introduction par JOSEPH TEXTE. Deuxième édition augmentée, publiée avec un index méthodique, par FERNAND BALDENSBERGER. Strassbourg: Trübner, 1904. 8vo. xxviii + 410 pp.

This volume comes as a reminder of the ravages death has already made in the little band of pioneers of Comparative Literature; the introduction to it was the last thing Texte wrote, and Betz himself died before he could see the second edition through the press. Both were men who could ill be spared. Texte's acute and incisive judgment was peculiarly adapted to deal with comparative problems; indeed, his criticism suffered almost from an excess of comparative zeal. Betz, on the other hand, was an indefatigable worker, and one of those vigorous champions that a new movement needs; he lacked, perhaps, the touch of imaginative genius observable in the French critics who have yielded to the fascinations of the comparative method, and he had taken up the academic career too late to be effectively grounded in the *Akribie* of the German school. His own work came to grief to some extent on a feature which has filled many of us with an instinctive distrust of *la littérature comparée*, the temptation to dissipate interests and energies over too wide a field. Betz's courses as Professor of Comparative Literature at Zurich were astounding in the extent of literary knowledge they encompassed. At the same time, it was just this faculty of being able to make himself at home in such widely separated fields that made Betz so well suited to plan and carry out a bibliographical work like the present.

It is obvious, however, that a book of this kind must go on improving

from one edition to another; and the advance of this edition over its predecessor is seen in the fact that whereas the latter had only 123 pages, the second edition extends to 410 pages of double columns. The work is divided into a series of chapters, each of which gathers together all the books and articles dealing with the relations of two or more literatures—'La France et l'Allemagne,' 'La France et l'Angleterre,' &c.—and this method of classification is very serviceable in practice. On the whole, excellent judgment has been shown in the selection of the materials. There is, here and there, room for weeding out; for the compiler has occasionally been misled by titles to assume that a certain essay or book is comparative, when, as a matter of fact, there is no justification for its inclusion in his list. On the other hand, the vista of possible additions and extensions which a survey of the entire field opens up, is endless. If, for instance, every judgment which a critic passes on a literature not his own falls within the scope of 'comparative literature,' the entire body of writing on classical antiquity since the Renaissance should have a place here. Again, a plea might reasonably be made for the inclusion of translations, while a chapter such as that on 'l'histoire dans la littérature' which Betz has tentatively inserted at the end, suggests still more possibilities of regarding literature comparatively. Clearly, the crying need of 'Comparative Literature' is definition.

An 'index méthodique' takes the place of the index of authors in the first edition; but it would have enhanced the practical value of the handbook had the original index been retained in addition to the new one. A work of this kind cannot be too well supplied with indices.

A 'Société des Textes français modernes' has been formed under the presidency of M. Gustave Lanson, with a view to publishing more or less inaccessible texts at a moderate price. Amongst the works promised are editions of *Heroët* (by F. Gohin), *Ronsard* (by P. Laumonier), *Joachim Du Bellay* (by H. Chamard), *Agrippa d'Aubigné* (by A. Garnier); also of D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* and Ch. Sorel's *Polyandre* (both by E. Roy), while M. Lanson himself promises Voltaire's *Lettres anglaises*. The Secretary of the Society is Professor Huguet of the University of Caen, and the annual subscription 10 francs.

Under the title *Bausteine*, a new German organ for the study of modern English philology and etymology has just been founded. The editors are Professor Leon Kellner of Czernowitz and Dr Gustav Krüger of Berlin. Six numbers are to appear in the year, the annual subscription being 18 marks; it is published by the firm of Langenscheidt in Berlin. The contents of the first number, which was issued in July, give promise of useful activity in a field which in recent years has been assiduously cultivated in Germany.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

GENERAL.

- BIESE, A., *The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times.* Translated from the German. London, Routledge. 6s.
- GEIGER, E., *Beiträge zu einer Aesthetik der Lyrik.* Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.
- HERTZ, WILHELM, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen.* Herausg. von F. von der Leyen. Stuttgart, Cotta. 10 M.
- NOVATI, F., *Attraverso il medio evo. Studi e ricerche.* Bari, Laterza. 4l.
- Otia Merseiana: the Publication of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Liverpool. Vol. iv. (Contents: A. C. Bradley, *Phonetic Infection in Shakespeare.* Ch. Bonnier, *Du Contact en Littérature.* O. Elton, *Literary Fame, a Renaissance Study.* R. H. Case, *The Autobiography of Sir Symonds d'Ewes.* M. Dickin, *Contemporary Criticism of Lamb's Dramatic Specimens.* J. Sephton, *Notes on the South Lancashire Place-Names in Domesday Book.* H. C. Wyld, *West Germanic *a* in Old English.* I. F. Williams, *Significance of the Symbol *e* in the Kentish Glosses.* P. G. Thomas and H. C. Wyld, *A Glossary of the Mercian Hymns.* T. O. Hirst, *Some Features of Interest in the Phonology of the Modern Dialect of Kendal.*) London, Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.
- SPINGARN, J. E., *La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento.* Traduzione italiana del Dr. A. Fusco. Bari, Laterza. 4l.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

General.

- EBELING, G., *Probleme der romanischen Syntax.* I. Teil. Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M. 40.
- Festschrift Adolf Tobler zum 70. Geburtstage dargebracht von der Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen. Brunswick, Westermann. 8 M.
- Romanische Forschungen. Organ für romanische Sprachen und Mittellatein. Herausgegeben von K. Vollmöller. Bd. xix, Heft 2. Erlangen, Junge. 10 M.

Medieval Latin.

- ANZ, HEINRICH, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele. Untersuchungen und Texte zur Vorgeschichte des deutschen Weihnachtsspiels.* Leipzig, Hinrichs. 5 M. 40.
- MEYER, WILHELM, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik.* 2 Bde. Berlin, Weidmann. 16 M.
- SCHMID, K. F., *John Barclays Argenis (Litterarhistorische Forschungen, xxxi).* Berlin, E. Felber. 4 M.
- WERNER, J., *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Aus Handschriften gesammelt.* 2. Auflage. Aarau, Sauerländer. 5 fr.

Italian.

- BEATTY, H. M., *Dante and Virgil*. London, Blackie. 2s. 6d.
- BELARDINELLI, G., *La questione della lingua. Un capitolo di storia della letteratura italiana. I. Da Dante a Girolamo Muzio*. Rome, V. Amadori. 31. 50.
- BERTANI, C., *Il maggior poeta sardo Carlo Buragna e il Petrarchismo del seicento*. Milan. 41.
- BERTONI, G., *Il dialetto di Modena*. Turin, Loescher. 41.
- BORGESE, G. A., *Storia della critica romantica in Italia*. Naples, 'La Critica'. 61. 50.
- CHIARINI, G., *Vita di Giacomo Leopardi*. Florence. 41.
- DANTE, *Concordanza delle Opere italiane in prosa e del Canzoniere*. Edited by E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 36s. net.
- DONADONI, E., *Discorsi letterati (Alfieri, Petrarca, Le tre donne della Commedia)*. Palermo. 21.
- EVERETT, W., *The Italian Poets since Dante*. London, Duckworth. 5s. net.
- GUBERNATIS, A. DE, *Francesco Petrarca: corso di lezioni*. Milan, Libr. edit. nazionale. 51.
- LEOPARDI, G., *I canti, commentati da G. Piergili; aggiunta la Guerra dei topi e delle rane, con i Paralipomeni*. Turin. 21. 20.
- MURARI, R., *Dante e Boezio: contributo allo studio delle fonti dantesche*. Bologna. 51.
- PETRARCA, F., *Il Canzoniere riprodotto letteralmente dal Cod. Vat. lat. 3195 a cura di E. Modigliani*. Rome, Loescher. 151.
- Rimatori lucchesi del sec. XIII. *Testo critico a cura di A. Parducci*. Bergamo. 71.
- SCROCCA, A., *Studi sul Monti e sul Manzoni*. Naples. 21. 50.
- SOLERTI, A., *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte medicea dal 1600 al 1637*. Florence, Bemporad. 61. 50.
- ZINGARELLI, N., *La vita di Dante in compendio, con un' analisi delle Divina Commedia*. Milan, Vallardi. 21. 50.

Spanish.

- BREYMANN, H., *Calderon-Studien. I. Die Calderon-Literatur*. Munich, Oldenbourg. 10 M.
- CEJADOR Y FRAUCA, J., *La lengua de Cervantes. Gramática y diccionario de la lengua castellana en El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Tomo I. Madrid, Ratés. 10 pes.*
- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M. DE, *El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Edición facsimile de la impresa en Madrid en el año 1605 y 1615 por Juan de la Cuesta. Barcelona, Talleres del 'Anuario de la Exportación'. 4 pes.*
- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M. DE, *El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Primera edición crítica. Por D. Clemente Cortejón. Tomo I. Barcelona, 'La Académica'. 20 pes.*
- FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J., *La littérature espagnole. Traduction française*. Paris, A. Colin. 5 fr.
- Iconographie des éditions du Don Quichotte de Miguel de Cervantès Saavedra. 3 vol. Paris, Champion. 50 fr.*
- UNAMUNO, M. DE, *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho segun Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra explicada y comentada*. Salamanca. 6 pes.

Roumanian.

- POPOVICI, JOS., *Rumänische Dialekte. I. Die Dialekte der Muntenî und Pädurenî im Hunyader Komitat*. Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M.

Provençal.

GRANDGENT, C. HALL, An outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal. Boston, D. C. Heath. 2 dol. 50.

French.*(a) General.*

TOBLER, A., *Mélanges de Grammaire française*. Traduction française de la 2me édition. Par M. Kuttner et L. Sudre. Paris, Picard. 6 fr.

(b) Old French.

BECKER, H., *Die Auffassung der Jungfrau Maria in der altfranzösischen Litteratur*. Dissertation. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 2 M. 40.

GALPIN, S. L., 'Cortois' and 'vilain'. A study of the distinction made between them by the French and Provençal poets of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. Newhaven, Conn., Ryder Printing House.

JORDAN, L., *Die Sage von den vier Haimonskindern*. Erlangen, Junge. 7 M.

LE FÈVRE, J., *Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de Leesece, poèmes français du xive siècle*. Paris, Bouillon. 15 fr.

WEISE, L., *Blondel de Nesle: Lieder* (Gesellschaft für romanische Litteratur, vol. 5). Halle, Niemeyer. 12 M.

(c) Modern French.

BARRY, W., *Ernest Renan (Literary Lives)*. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d.

CAZES, A., *Pierre Bayle, sa vie, ses idées, son influence, son œuvre*. Paris, Dujarric. 3 fr. 50.

CHARDON, H., *Robert Garnier, sa vie, ses poésies inédites*. Paris, Champion. 6 fr.

COUNSON, A., *Malherbe et ses sources*. Liège. 6 fr.

FRANÇOIS, A., *La Grammaire du purisme et l'Académie française au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris, Soc. nouv. de lib. et d'édit. 5 fr.

FREUND, M., *Die moralischen Erzählungen Marmontels*. Dissertation. Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.

GROSJEAN, O., *Saint-Beuve à Liège. Lettres et documents inédits*. Paris, Fontemoing. 2 fr.

MERLANT, J., *Le Roman personnel de Rousseau à Fromentin*. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

ROTH, TH., *Der Einfluss von Ariost's Orlando furioso auf das französische Theater* (Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie, xxxiv). Leipzig, Deichert. 5 M. 80.

STAPPER, P., *Victor Hugo à Guernsey, souvenirs personnels*. Paris, Société franç. d'imp. et de lib. 3 fr. 50.

TAINE, H., *Sa vie et sa correspondance. Tome III. L'Historien (1870-75)*. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

General.

HOOPS, JOH., *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*. Strassburg, Trübner. 16 M.

Scandinavian.

Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, herausgegeben von G. Cederschiöld, H. Gering und E. Mogk. Heft XI: *Kristnisaga. þáttir þorvalds ens víðforla. þáttir Ísleifs biskups Gizurarsonar*. Hungrvaka. Herausgegeben von B. Kahle. Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M.

- FEILBERG, H. F., Bidrag til en Ordbog over jyske Almuesmaal. 26. Hefte. Copenhagen, Schubothe. 2 kr. 50.
- HÆGSTAD, M. og A. TORP, Gamalnorsk ordbog med nynorsk tyding. 1. Hefte. Christiania, Det norske Aktieforslag. 65 ø.
- HESSSELMAN, B., Sveamålen och de svenska dialekternas indelning. Upsala, Appelberg. 2 kr.
- KALKAR, O., Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog (1300-1700). 40. Hefte. Copenhagen, Schubothe. 2 kr. 50.

English.

(a) General.

- MOORMAN, F. W., The Interpretation of Nature in English Poetry from Beowulf to Shakespeare (Quellen und Forschungen, 95. Heft). Strassburg, Trübner. 6 M. 50.

(b) Old and Middle English.

- Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, herausg. von M. Trautmann. 17: O. Grüters, Über einige Beziehungen zwischen altsächsischer und altenglischer Dichtung; K. Bülbring, Die Schreibung des *eo* im Ormulum; W. Heuser, Das frühmittelenglische Josephlied; M. Trautmann, Nachträgliches zu Finn und Hildebrand. Bonn, P. Hanstein. 6 M.
- BRIGHT, J. W., The Gospel of St Mark in West Saxon. (The Belles-Lettres Series.) Boston, Heath. 2s. 6d. net.
- FOWLER, E., Une source française des poèmes de Gower. Thèse. Paris, Picard. 5 fr.
- HALLBÄCK, E. S., The Language of the Middle English Bestiary. I. Phonology; II. Inflection. Lund, Gleerup. 1 kr. 50.
- SCHULDT, C., Die Bildung der schwachen Verba im Altenglischen (Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie. 1. Heft). Kiel, Cordes. 2 M. 50.
- STOSSBERG, F., Die Sprache des altenglischen Martyrologiums. Bonn, P. Hanstein. 4 M.
- TRILSBACH, G., Die Lautlehre des spätwestsächsischen Evangelien. Bonn, P. Hanstein. 4 M.

(c) Modern English.

- BEHN, Mrs APHRA, Novels. With an Introduction by E. A. Baker. London, Routledge. 6s. net.
- BETSON, THOMAS, A Ryght Profytable Treatyse. Printed in Caxton's House by Wynkyn de Worde about 1500. Facsimile. Cambridge, University Press. 15s. net.
- BLACH, S., Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule zu Anfang des 16. Jahrh. Halberstadt, H. Meyer. 2 M.
- BRANDES, G., Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature. Vol. 4: Naturalism in England. Translated into English. London, Heinemann. 12s. net.
- CHAPMAN, G., Bussy d'Ambois and the Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois. Edited by F. S. Boas. (The Belles-Lettres Series.) Boston, Heath. 2s. 6d. net.
- COWLEY, ABRAHAM, Poems. Edited by A. R. Waller. Cambridge, University Press. 4s. 6d. net.
- D'ARBLAY, MADAME, Diary and Letters. Vols. 5, 6. London, Macmillan. Each 10s. 6d. net.
- DEKKER, THOS., The Gull's Hornbook. Edited by R. B. McKerrow. (The King's Classics.) London, Moring. 1s. net.
- DEROCQUIGNY, J., Charles Lamb, sa vie et ses œuvres. Paris, Alcan. 12 fr.
- DHALEINE, L., N. Hawthorne, sa vie et ses œuvres. Paris, Hachette. 7 fr. 50.

- Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes. In 20 vols. Vols. 1—6. Glasgow, Maclehose. Each 12s. 6d.
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THE PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN GHOST.

THE classical origin of the Elizabethan dramatic ghost has long since been established, but the stages through which it passed in its journey from Greek tragedy to Shakespeare, together with its adventures on the road, furnish a story which has not yet been fully told¹, and which is not without interest.

The starting-point of the dramatic ghost is to be found in the tragedies of Aeschylus, who introduces the ghost of Darius into the *Persae* and that of Clytemnestra into the *Eumenides*. These two ghosts have little in common: the former is called from the grave by mystic incantations, enters freely into conversation with living persons, predicts disasters for the Persian arms, and before descending into the tomb, inculcates the familiar Aeschylean lesson of avoiding presumption. The ghost of Clytemnestra, on the other hand, is the first of a long line of revenge-ghosts. She comes back to earth of her own free will, does not appear to mortal men, but, addressing herself to the sleeping Furies, spirits of kindred origin with herself², arouses them to fresh activities. When the Furies awake she vanishes. There is no ghost in the extant plays of Sophocles, and only one in those of Euripides. But Euripides' one ghost—that of the murdered Polydorus in the *Hecuba*—is of the first importance in the subsequent history of the dramatic ghost, and serves, indeed, as prototype to most of the ghosts of Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English tragedy down to the time of Shakespeare. Euripides departs from the Aeschylean practice of introducing a ghost *into* the drama during the course of its evolution; the ghost of Polydorus is a prologue-ghost, and its function is to acquaint the audience

¹ Since this paper was written, the following work has appeared: H. Ankenbrand, *Die Figur des Geistes im Drama der englischen Renaissance* (*Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*, xxxv. Heft), Leipzig, 1905.

² See Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 215.

with the chain of events which lead up to the point at which the tragedy begins, and also to indicate in some measure the direction in which the tragedy shall move.

Nothing presents greater difficulty to a playwright than the exposition of a drama by means of its first scene. To place the audience in full possession of the situation of affairs, to foreshadow the course of the action, and at the same time to reveal the character of the persons by means of dramatic dialogue, is a task which makes no small demand upon a playwright's art. The Euripidean prologue-ghost, therefore, which removes so much of this initial toil, may be regarded as a most ingenious labour-saving machine. At the same time, by virtue of its supernaturalism, it produces in the spectators a tension of nerve which makes the sympathetic following of the play more easy.

Whatever be the merits of the Euripidean ghost, its success proved lasting. When Seneca, in the first century of the Christian era, gave new life to the themes of Attic tragedy and imparted to them that rancid flavour of melodrama which clings to the Senecan tragedy in all its later developments, he adopted, together with much other stage-machinery, the Euripidean prologue-ghost. To be more exact, he combined the function of the Euripidean prologue-ghost with the revenge-motive of the Aeschylean ghost. The ghost of Tantalus in Seneca's *Thyestes* and the ghost of Thyestes in his *Agamemnon* are the issue of the Euripidean Polydorus and the Aeschylean Clytemnestra. Their sphere of action is the prologue, their speeches put the reader in full possession of the tragic clues, and the burden of their discourse is vengeance. The presence of the Fury Megaera in the company of Tantalus in the *Thyestes* is yet another reminiscence of the *Eumenides*, though with the situation exactly reversed. There it was the ghost which aroused the Furies, here it is the Fury which hales the ghost from Tartarus and incites him to take vengeance on those who have wronged him.

Thyestes and Tantalus are the only ghosts that actually appear in Seneca's dramas, but references to ghost-lore and the spirit-world of Greek mythology are frequently met with in his plays, and serve to indicate the hold which the dramatic ghost had obtained upon the Roman mind. In the pseudo-Senecan play, *Octavia*, the ghost of Agrippina is introduced and delivers a lengthy monologue before the third act begins.

In these ghost scenes of Senecan tragedy there is the same delight taken in stories of gross and monstrous crime which we meet with in

the Elizabethan revenge-tragedies. Seneca, through the instrumentality of his ghosts, drags before our view the offal of those old-world hero-legends which the Greek tragedians had touched with the lightest hand. He delights too in making his ghosts describe the pains and tortures of Tartarus. The references to Erebus and Acheron, to Sisyphus's stone and Ixion's wheel, which fall so pat from the lips of Elizabethan ghosts, are all ultimately derived from Seneca. Moreover, the rant and bombast, the truculent speech and wild hyperbole of early Elizabethan tragedy are direct heirlooms of the Senecan play.

Some twelve hundred years elapsed before the ghost once more quitted the dwelling of Hades and dark Persephone to take its place as prologue-speaker in the drama. A revival of the Senecan tragedy had begun in Italy as early as the end of the thirteenth century, when Albertino Mussato the Paduan (born 1261) wrote his two Latin tragedies, *Eccerinus* and *Achilleis*. Both of these plays are furnished with a Chorus and a Nuntius, and closely resemble the Senecan tragedy in style; the ghost, however, is wanting. About a century later appeared the *Progne* of Gregorio Corrarior, written, like the tragedies of Mussato, in Latin verse. The plot of this play is drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but the construction is Senecan to a fault¹. The play is furnished with a prologue, and the speaker of this is the ghost of Diomedes, who has been sent to earth from the realms of Pluto in order to visit the house of Tereus and foretell the horrors which shall fall upon it:

Lucos et amnes desero inferni Jovis,
Ad astra mittor supera convexi poli...

In true Senecan fashion he speaks of the 'dira Furiarum agmina,' of the tortures of Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tantalus, and then, when his message has been delivered, declares that a Fury is summoning him back to the infernal pools. Throughout the monologue this Diomedes ghost makes it very apparent that he has sat at the feet of Seneca's Tantalus.

New conquests were achieved by the Senecan ghost in the Italian tragedies of the sixteenth century. Trissino's *Sophonisba* (circ. 1514), which is usually regarded as the first tragedy in Italian, contains no ghost, but in the *Orbecche* of Gherardi Cinthio (1504-1573) there is first of all an Induction in which the Goddess Nemesis and the Infernal Furies appear, and then a prologue-speech by the ghost of the dead Selina. There is again a ghost-prologue to the *Canace* of Speroni

¹ See Chassang, *Des Essais dramatiques imités de l'antiquité au xiv^e et xv^e siècle*, Paris, 1852.

(1500–1588), while in the *Tullia* of Martelli (1499–1527), which is almost as old as Trissino's *Sophonisba*, a bold advance is made. The ghost here is that of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome. This is no prologue-ghost for the very good reason that Tullius is a living character throughout the greater part of the play. After his death, which takes place on the stage, he appears as a ghost to his queen in order to unravel the knot of intrigue and take of her a loving farewell.

The French tragedians of the sixteenth century, who drew their inspiration in part from Seneca, and in part from Seneca's Italian imitators, soon came to recognise the dramatic value of the ghost. Prefixed to the *Cléopâtre* (1552) of Étienne Jodelle is a lengthy prologue delivered by the ghost of Mark Antony, and conceived in the orthodox Senecan manner. Antony is not a revenge-ghost, but, adopting throughout an elegiac tone, he bewails the misfortunes of the past, and foretells new disasters. Robert Garnier (1545–1601), who through his connection with Kyd brings us a step nearer to our own Elizabethan drama, is again a true Senecan. The close connection of the ghost with the Furies, which was already established in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, and further emphasized by Seneca's *Thyestes*, is maintained by Garnier in his *Porcie* (1568). The prologue to this play is delivered by the Fury Mégère, whose purpose, as a true revenge-spirit, is to 'eslancer le discord,' and to predict the disasters which follow in the play itself.

In the prologue to Garnier's *Hippolyte*, instead of the Fury Megaera, there appears the ghost of Aegeus, the father of Theseus. He is no revenge-ghost, but, like Megaera, he dilates on the thick horrors of the underworld, its sulphur-reeking air, its flying phantoms and fearful beasts, and then proceeds to foretell the woes which an inexorable Fate shall bring upon the house of Theseus.

In France, as in Italy, a desire to enlarge the sphere of action prescribed for the ghost by Euripides and Seneca made itself felt. In *Saül le Furieux* (1572) of Jean de la Taille, who followed the example of George Buchanan in pressing scriptural narrative into the service of the neo-classical tragedy, there is no prologue-ghost; but in the third act the dramatist brings together Saul and the Witch of Endor (the Phitonisse negromancienne). The witch, by means of magic incantations summons from the grave the ghost of Samuel, who proceeds to call the curses upon the witch, and then, addressing Saul, foretells his imminent ruin. In all this Jean de la Taille keeps closely to Bible stories, delighting the witch's incantations to Leviathan, Belial, and other fallen spirits with in

Hebrew lore, we may trace the influence of the earliest Greek tragedy, and see on the part of de la Taille a desire to get behind Seneca and Euripides, and to reproduce the impressive ghost-scene of Aeschylus's *Persae*.

Translations of all of Seneca's plays were published in England before 1570, though the collective edition, the so-called *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies*, edited by Thomas Newton, did not appear until 1581. The appeal which the Senecan ghost immediately made to the English reader is curiously attested by Jasper Heywood's addition to his translation of the *Troas* (1559) of a long prologue-speech, prefixed to the second act, and delivered by the ghost of Achilles. The burden of the monologue is revenge, and the Senecan accent is unmistakable throughout:

From burning lakes the furies wrath I threate,
And fire that nought but streames of bloud may slake,
The rage of winde and seas their shippes shall beate,
And Ditis deepe on you shall vengeance take;
The sprites crie out, the earth and seas do quake,
The poole of Styx, ungratefull Greekes it seath
With slaughtred bloud revenge Achilles death.

The soyle doth shake to beare my heavy foote,
And fearth agayne the sceptors of my hand,
The pooles with stroake of thunderclap ring out,
The doubtful starres amid their course do stand,
And fearfull Phœbus hides his blasing brande;
The trembling lakes agaynst their course do flite,
For dread and terrour of Achilles spright.

Thus early, under the guidance of Seneca, did an English ghost learn the art of tearing a passion to tatters.

When Seneca's plays were first read and translated by Englishmen, the Morality play, though its popularity was doubtless waning, was still in vogue. Accordingly we find that, although the Senecan revenge-tragedy soon won its way, the fondness for moral abstractions as *dramatis personae* made the entrance of so concrete a figure as the historic ghost somewhat difficult. Among the earliest of these revenge-tragedies is Pickering's *Horestes*¹, which was acted at Court in the year 1568, and in which the inspirer of vengeance is not a ghost but Revenge herself, who appears in company with other abstractions, such as Nature, Fame, of all sel. Another revenge-tragedy, acted at Court in the same year, is *Furies and of Salerne in Love*², of which the better known *Tancred and Selina* is a later adaptation. Here the spirits of vengeance are

¹ See Chabrandt, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, Strassburg Paris, 1852. ² *l. op. cit.*

Cupid, who speaks the prologue, and the Fury Megaera, who in a long monologue prefixed to Act IV., and closely modelled on the speeches of the Megaera in Seneca's *Thyestes*, declares that she has been sent to earth by Pluto to wreak vengeance on Tancred and Gismund¹.

There is no ghost either in *Ferrex and Porrex*, or in the other tragedies and tragi-comedies which soon followed in its wake. But between 1580 and 1590 the Senecan ghost took a definite place among the *dramatis personae* of English tragedies of revenge. The uncertainty as to the dates at which these early tragedies were first acted makes it difficult to record its first appearance. *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, with its ghost of Gorlois, was certainly acted at Court in 1587, but it is possible that both Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and the anonymous *Locrine*—both of them provided with ghosts—are of earlier date. Professor Schick regards 1587 as the latest year in which *The Spanish Tragedy* could have been written; Fleay says of *Locrine* that it was 'evidently presented at Court, most probably on February 13, 1586,' and Professor Churchill thinks that it was probably earlier than 1587.

The Misfortunes of Arthur, the work of Thomas Hughes and other law-students of Gray's Inn, is Celtic in its theme, but Senecan in its construction and style. There is accordingly the frankest acceptance on the part of the ghost of Gorlois, who speaks the prologue, of all the classical colour and imagery of a Senecan ghost-speech. This murdered British duke rants of 'Pluto's pits,' the 'channels black of Limbo lake,' and the 'deep infernal flood of Stygian pool,' as though he had been a Tantalus or a Thyestes. Nowhere is any attempt made to utilise the native, mediaeval-Christian, ghost-lore which is to be met with in the mediaeval ballads and in the verse-romance, *The Aunturs of Arthur at the Tarne-Wathelan*. Gorlois, too, is a typical Senecan revenge-ghost. While serving as prologue-speaker, he vows vengeance on the seed of that Uther Pendragon who has despoiled him 'of wife, of land and life,' and the threats of vengeance which he formulates acquire exactly that truculence of manner which Seneca, and his French and Italian imitators, demanded of a revenge-ghost. In one respect Hughes takes a step in advance of Seneca. Gorlois appears not only in the first scene of the play, but also in the last. When the work of vengeance is fully accomplished, he reappears on the stage, and declares that his fury is

¹ Ghosts abound in the Latin University plays performed in the Elizabethan age at Oxford and Cambridge. I omit all reference to these plays, firstly because most of them are later than *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and *Locrine*, and secondly because their direct bearing upon the vernacular drama is very problematic. For a full account of these plays, see Churchill and Keller, *Die lateinischen Universitätsdramen*, (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xxxiv.).

now assuaged; he promises that Britain shall henceforth 'bathe in endless weal,' panegyrises Elizabeth, and then returns to Tartarus.

The advance in the use of Senecan ghost-machinery which we have just noticed in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* is still more pronounced in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. The presence of Revenge amongst the *dramatis personae* looks at first like a return to the Morality, but this figure, like the kindred spirit of Megaera in Seneca's *Thyestes*, adds considerably to the dramatic effectiveness of the ghost-scenes. Here, too, the ghost of Andrea and his attendant, Revenge, are not pent up within the prologue and epilogue of the play; they remain as spectators of the action throughout its whole progress, and make their comments upon the events of each act. The rôle of the Senecan ghost on English soil is thus steadily enlarging: at first only a prologue-speaker, then summoned to deliver the epilogue as well, it now unites with both these offices that of the classical Chorus:

Here sit we down to see the mystery,
And serve for Chorus in this tragedy.

Kyd, like those who went before him, makes no attempt to substitute for the exotic ghost-lore of classic mythology the beliefs regarding the ghost-world which were current in England in his own day. On the contrary, he exceeds Seneca himself in his reproduction of the ghost-lore of primitive Greece. Not only does the ghost of Andrea refer to 'fell Avernus' ugly waves,' to 'churlish Charon' and 'Ixion's endless wheel,' but, in imitation of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, he also introduces the Greek tradition as to rites of burial. Charon, we are told, refuses to bear Andrea across the stream of Acheron until his son Horatio has duly performed the funeral obsequies. Moreover, with his Vergil open before him, Kyd brings his Andrea into the presence of Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus, who pass sentence upon him and despatch him to the court of Pluto and Proserpine and to the 'fair Elysian green.' Kyd has from his own day until now been a by-word for bombastic speech and truculent action. But, as already pointed out, these are the essential qualities of the Senecan melodrama throughout the whole period of its popularity. Kyd's delight in riotous rhetoric, or in scenes of bloodshed and violence, is not greater than that manifested in *Ferrex and Porrex* or *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. The truth is that Kyd, while refusing to sacrifice any of the gory detail of the Senecan revenge-tragedy, yet endeavoured to infuse into all this an element of poetry which up to now had been wanting. The dead Andrea is consumed with just such a Berserker rage as the Senecans demanded from their vengeful ghosts

but there is a grandeur and resonance in the description which he gives of his encounter with his infernal judges which is altogether new to a ghost-prologue.

The loss of Kyd's *Hamlet* makes it impossible to determine whether in that play Kyd made yet a further advance in the use of ghost-machinery and introduced his ghost as an actual participator in the action of the play, or whether he still retained him as Chorus to the tragedy. Lodge's scornful account of the ghost 'which cried so miserably at the theator, like an oyster-wife, *Hamlet, revenge*,' scarcely settles the matter, and the authorship of the English original of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is still a moot point. The advance was at any rate made by the author of *Locrine*. Fleay ascribed this play to Peele, and Dr Ward confesses that 'in manner *Locrine* resembles Peele rather than any other dramatist with whom I am acquainted.' If so, it must have been a very early work of Peele's, for internal evidence seems to show that it was written before the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587. The prologue to this British tragedy of vengeance is spoken by the Fury Ate (cf. the prologue-speech by Ate prefixed to Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*), who enters amid thunder and lightning, 'with a burning torch in one hand, and a flaming sword in the other.' Her speech is in every way inferior to that of Kyd's Andrea, and keeps slavishly to the Senecan model. No ghost accompanies her, but when the play has run half its course there appears upon the stage the ghost of Albanact, the brother of Locrine, whom Humber has slain in battle. (See Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. II. cap. i.) The ghost appears to his slayer, Humber, and the following conversation takes place between them:

- Humber.* But why comes Albanacts bloodie ghoast
To bring a corsive to our miseries?
Ist not enough to suffer shamefull flight,
But we must be tormented now with ghoasts,
With apparitions fearfull to behold.
- Ghoast.* Revenge, revenge for blood.
- Humber.* So nought will satisfie your wandring ghoast
But dire revenge, nothing but Humber's fall,
Because he conquered you in Albany.
Now by my soule Humber would be condemn'd
To Tantal's hunger or Ixion's wheele,
Or to the vultur of Prometheus,
Rather than that this murther were undone.
When as I die ile dragge thy cursed ghoast
Through all the rivers of foule Erebus,
Through burning sulphur of the Limbo-lake,
To allaie the burning furie of that heate
That rageth in mine everlasting soule.
- Ghoast.* *Vindicta, vindicta.*

[*Exeunt.*

The sound and fury of this passage suggest hollowness within, and the crudeness of it all strikes us the more after the dignity of Kyd's Andrea. But the important thing is that the ghost is no longer a *spectator ab extra*, but a sharer in the action of the play. The ghost of Albanact, emboldened by his successful first appearance, returns to the stage in Act iv. Sc. iii. Here Strumbo is in the act of handing food to Humber, but the dauntless ghost strikes Strumbo on the hand, drives him and Humber from the stage, and then addresses the audience. After Humber's suicide he once more appears, gloats, like a typical revenge-ghost, over the accomplished vengeance, and announces his intention of returning to the infernal regions. The classical colouring is maintained to the very end:

Backe will I post to hell mouth Taenarus,
And pass Cocitus, to the Elysian fields,
And tell my father Brutus of the newes.

A yet further use is found in this play for ghost-machinery. In Act v. Sc. v. there appears the ghost of Corineus, who, like Albanact, is a revenge-ghost, and who, in a long soliloquy, predicts and gloats over the fall of his enemy, Locrine. He takes no part in the action, but declares his intention of remaining on earth until he has fed his soul on Locrine's overthrow.

The privilege which the author of *Locrine* had extended to the ghost in giving him the right of entry into the play itself, instead of keeping him standing on the threshold, was readily maintained by succeeding dramatists, so that throughout the last decade of the century no figure was more familiar to the Elizabethan playgoer than that of the revenge-ghost whining forth his 'Vindicta' cries from underneath a white sheet. The true Senecans did what they could to curb the ghost's license of action, and to confine him to the prologue, but the groundlings, who loved nothing better than for

each particular hair to stand an end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine—

would abide by no such restrictions. Thus the second act of Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* opens with a high-pitched prologue-speech by the Presenter, in which he tells of bloodshed, warfare, and vengeance. As he is speaking, three ghosts appear upon the stage, utter the word 'Vindicta' and retire. In Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon* Medea the sorceress, by means of incantations, raises from the lower world the ghost of Calchas, who, according to the stage-direction, rises 'in a white surplice and a Cardinal's mitre.' After making a speech, he

is despatched by Medea to enquire of the Destinies what fortune shall attend on Amurack in his wars (cf. *Saül le Furieux*). In this play the ghost is extending his empire by securing a place in comedy, and the same is true of the ghost of Jack in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, of that of Will Summer, the famous comedian, who plays a very amusing part in Nash's *Will Summer's Last Will and Testament*, and that of Malbecco who finds a place in the anonymous *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*.

Moreover, where the ghost does not actually appear upon the stage, we are often reminded of his vogue as a revenge-spirit by frequent allusions met with in the dramas of the period. Thus in *The Looking-Glass for London and England* of Greene and Lodge the Priest of the Sun says,

The ghosts of dead men howling walk about,
Crying *vae, vae*, woe to this city, woe!—

while in Greene's *James IV of Scotland* the Scottish king exclaims,

Methinks I hear my Dorothea's ghost
Howling revenge for my accursed hate;
The ghost of those my subjects that are slain
Pursue me, crying out, 'Woe, woe, to lust!'

But the limits of the ghost's empire are not reached, nor the dark abysses of melodrama fully sounded, until we reach the second part of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1601). Here horror runs riot, and ghostly visitations cloy by their frequency even the strongest palate. The ghost of the murdered Andrugio appears on the stage, thirsting for vengeance, at every step in the action, while such is the vogue of the ghostly catch-word 'Vindicta,' that it takes to itself bodily form and becomes a personification:

The fist of strenuous vengeance is clutcht,
And sterne Vindicta towreth up aloft....

Act v. sc. i.

That the riotous excesses in which the ghosts of the revenge-tragedians indulged should have run their course unchecked by the ridicule of the satirist was, of course, impossible even in an age so indulgent as the Elizabethan. The hue and cry seems to have begun about 1599, when an anonymous play, *A Warning for Fair Women*, was acted; in the Induction to this play are found the following lines:

Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
Lapt in some foul sheet or a leather pilch,
Comes screaming like a pig half sticked,
And cries, 'Vindicta! Revenge, Revenge!'
With that a little rosin flasheth forth,
Like smoke out of a tobacco pipe or a boy's squib.

The passage is interesting as throwing light upon the stage-manager's devices for creating an atmosphere for his phantoms, but *A Warning for Fair Women* was too lame a play to produce by its incidental ridicule of ghost scenes much influence upon the popular taste. What is more important is to determine the attitude adopted towards this ghost-machinery by those dramatists who were looked up to as leaders. Marlowe, except in the necromantic scenes in which Faust and Mephistopheles raise from the dead the silent wraiths of Helen, Alexander and his paramour, made no use in his plays of ghostly visitations. Revenge appealed to him as a tragic motive, as it appealed to so many of his contemporaries, but to the blandishments of the ghost, even when, as in his *Dido*, he stood on classic soil, he turned a deaf ear. Ben Jonson had recourse to a dignified prologue-ghost—the ghost of Sylla—to set his tragedy of *Catiline* in motion, but towards the revenge-ghost who comes from Tartarus to hurl forth his 'Vindicta' cries he shows only ridicule. (See *The Poetaster*, III. i.)

That the revenge-ghost was not snuffed out by Jonson's ridicule, but lived on and found a place in such plays as Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, *The Atheist's Tragedy* of Cyril Tourneur, and even in so late a work as *Lady Alimony* (after 1633), was largely due to the influence of Shakespeare, who neither ignored it with Marlowe, nor ridiculed it with Jonson; but, stripping it of its rant and fustian, invested it with a new dignity and endowed it with a new purpose.

F. W. MOORMAN.

NOTES ON SOME COMEDIAS OF LOPE DE VEGA.

THE following notes are written with the view to amending and amplifying the bibliographical portion of my *Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow and Philadelphia, 1904).

LA AMISTAD Y OBLIGACION.

On page 494 of the above work is the following statement: '*Amistad (La) y Obligacion*.—XXII. Zaragoza, 1630; *Suelta* (J. R. C[horley] and Gayangos); MS. copy Cat. Bibl. Nacional, No. 140. Duran and Mesonero Romanos assert that this is (with some slight variations) the same play as Montalvan's *Lucha de Amor y Amistad*, but Chorley notes that Montalvan's is an *obra divina*. I have the latter work, and find that the first line agrees with the MS. though the closing line does not. The characters are the same.' There is a slight error here. The first two lines of the play ascribed to Montalvan are:

Don Martin. No sé como sin morir.
Lope, te puedo escuchar.

Lucha de Amor y Amistad is identical with *La Amistad y Obligacion*, except that the first twenty-nine lines of the latter play are omitted in the former, together with the character of Belardo, and the few lines assigned to that character. When I wrote the above in my *Life of Lope de Vega* I had never seen the very rare Parte XXII., published at Zaragoza in 1630, by Pedro Verges, 'a costa de Iusepe Ginobart, Mercader de Libros,' which has since come into my possession, and I am thus able to confirm the assertion of Duran and Gayangos. The comedia is undoubtedly Lope's, and is wrongly ascribed to Montalvan. Towards the close of Act III. the following passage occurs:

<i>Seuero.</i>	Soy Musico, soy Poeta.
<i>Lope.</i>
<i>Seuero.</i>	Soys Vulgar o Culterano?
<i>Lope.</i>	Culto soy.
<i>Seuero.</i>	Quedaos en casa
<i>Lope.</i>	y escriuireys mis secretos.
<i>Seuero.</i>	Tus secretos, porque causa?
<i>Lope.</i>	Porque nadie los entienda.

Chorley is mistaken in calling the play ascribed to Montalvan an 'obra divina.' Concerning the other plays in this Parte XXII., the first one: *Nunca mucho costó poco*, ascribed to Lope (and undoubtedly his), is entirely different from Alarcon's *Los Pechos privilegiados*, which latter, according to Hartzenbusch, also exists as a 'suelta' with the title *Nunca mucho costó poco*, and appears under this title in Alarcon's *Comedias Escogidas*, Vol. II. Madrid, 1829.

Di Mentira, sacardís Verdad is by Matias de los Reyes. The concluding lines are:

Aqueste es el fin que dió
a su fabula *Batillo*,
y que os pida, me pidió
perdon de su humilde estilo
y asi os lo suplico yo.

Batillo is a shepherd,—one of the subordinate characters in the play, and is very probably the *nom de guerre* of Reyes, just as Lope used the name Belardo¹.

Of the remaining plays in Parte XXII., *La Verdad sospechosa* is by Alarcon; *Quien bien ama tarde olvida* is a poor play and unworthy of Lope, to whom it is ascribed.

EL NEGRO DEL MEJOR AMO.

Prof. Restori has printed a comedia bearing this title, and ascribed to Lope de Vega, from a MS. copy in the Bibliotheca Palatina, at Parma (*Degli 'Autos' di Lope de Vega Carpio*, Parma, 1898, pp. 17—42). To me the authorship of this play seems doubtful, despite the fact that the MS. belonged to Francisco de Roxas, who made some corrections in it, and the further fact that the last two sheets are in the handwriting of Martinez de Mora. It is perhaps true, as Prof. Restori says, that Lope has written worse plays, but any third-rate *ingenio* could have written *El Negro del mejor Amo*, and I should be unwilling, except on better evidence, to make Lope responsible for it. Mira de Mescua's comedia of the same title, which I have, is wholly different. 'Rosambuco, Turco,' is the principal character in the latter play, while in Lope's *Antióbo* it is the 'Príncipe negro.' In the 1618 edition of Lope's *Peregrino en su Patria* there is a list of additional plays by Lope² (repeating twelve from the first list of 1604); among these is one

¹ Batillo is also one of the characters in the Comedia *Del que Diran* of Matias de los Reyes. See also Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 326, 327.

² Query: who is the author of this list in the edition of 1618? Certainly Lope de Vega had no part in drawing it up.

entitled *El santo Negro*, which is perhaps the play published in 1612 (or 1611?) in the so-called *Tercera Parte* of Lope, under the title: *Vida y Muerte del santo Negro llamado san Benito de Palermo*, and republished by Menéndez y Pelayo in Vol. IV. of the Academy's edition of Lope. Mescua's play is upon the same subject.

THE PARTES EXTRAVAGANTES OF LOPE.

It is well known that the published collection of Lope de Vega's *Comedias* consists of twenty-five *Partes*, which were issued between 1604 and 1647. It is equally well known that *Partes* III. and V. do not belong to this collection at all, but to the series of *Diferentes Autores*. In the 'tassa' to *Parte* III. the volume is distinctly described as: 'un libro de doze comedias, compuestas por diferentes Autores' (ed. of 1613, Madrid, En casa de Miguel Serrano de Vargas); while the title-page of *Parte* V. is: *Flor de comedias de España de diferentes autores*.

Now, in addition to this collection of twenty-five 'Partes,' there are three volumes which are supposed to have existed, numbered *Partes* XXVI., XXVII. and XXVIII., of the comedias of Lope de Vega, and which are called *Partes extravagantes*, i.e. irregular or odd Parts, and sometimes called 'las de afuera,' i.e. not published in Madrid.

The supposed contents of these Parts are given in Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 682—683, from whom I have taken them in the bibliography of my *Life of Lope de Vega*, pp. 400—401. The titles of these parts, as given by Barrera, are as follows:

Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio... (y otros Autores). Parte veynte y seis. Zaragoza, 1645¹.

Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio... (y otros Autores). Parte veynte y siete. Barcelona, 1633.

Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio... (y otros Autores). Parte veynte y ocho. Zaragoza, 1639.

¹ Here Barrera adds a note, in which he says that, as the date 1645 indicates, this must be either a re-impression of the volume or of the title-page, and that the volume must have been printed for the first time in 1632 or 1633, as is proved by a passage in Lope's *El Desprecio agradecido*, printed in 1637, in the *Vega del Parnaso*:

Ines.	Pues un libro, y esta vela
	Os será de gran prouecho.
Don Bernardo.	Quien es?
Ines.	Parte ventiseis
	De Lope.
Don Bernardo.	Libros supuestos,
	Que con su nombre se imprimen.

(Ed. of 1637, fol. 153.)

It will be observed that the titles are alike, except as regards dates: no details are given. There is a good reason for this, as we shall see.

These three volumes, Partes XXVI., XXVII. and XXVIII., are known as the *Partes extravagantes* of Lope, though Parte XXIX. (En Huesca, por Pedro Bluson, 1634), of which there is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, has an equal right to be so entitled. So far as I have been able to learn, nobody who has written about these *Partes extravagantes*, or who has quoted them, has ever seen them, except Fajardo. Nobody else even pretends that he has seen *any* of them.

In any discussion of these *extravagantes* it seems to me that the testimony of Barrera may fairly be disregarded, for, as it will be shown, he has simply copied Fajardo. 'All that we can do therefore,' as Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly says (in a letter to the writer), 'is to form an estimate of Fajardo's credibility, and base tentative conclusions thereon. Speaking generally Fajardo is accurate; apart from occasional slips, he survives the trial of being tested at various points.' Now, in addition to the statements of Fajardo, the only other evidence we have of the existence of these *extravagantes* (except the passage from Lope's *comedia*, given above) is to be found in three made-up volumes (*tomos colecticios*), formerly in the Osuna Library, numbered respectively 131, 132 and 133, and described by Schack, *Nachträge*, pp. 41—42. Their contents are to be found in my *Life of Lope de Vega*, pp. 437—438, together with the statement of John Rutter Chorley, that the references to the *Partes extravagantes* are introduced by Barrera on the sole authority of Fajardo's *Index*, and that Barrera omits to give the reader the very necessary information that, so far as can be ascertained at present, these volumes [the *extravagantes*] do not exist, save in the fragments in the Osuna Library above mentioned.

Now let us take the case of Parte XXVI. Zaragoza, 1645, noted by Barrera on p. 682. The contents of this volume are simply copied from Fajardo; a thing which nobody would guess, but it is so. Among the plays included in this volume, Fajardo gives *El Nacimiento de Alba* and *El Prodigio de Etiopia*. They exist respectively in vols. 131 and 132 of the Osuna Library (a fact which Barrera mentions in a note), but in the list of contents of these three volumes, as we have it, both these plays are marked as 'sueltas' (whether without pagination, or paged separately, is not indicated). Unfortunately we are now unable to verify such accounts as we have of these three Osuna volumes, as they are not available at the Biblioteca Nacional. I happen to know, however, that there is now in the Gayangos collection in the Biblioteca

Nacional a copy of *Amar como se ha de Amar*, for example, which is given in Vol. 131 as a 'suelta,' but which is paged 214—233. Chorley had a copy of this play so paged, as had likewise Salvá (*Catálogo*, I., p. 548), showing that, in all probability, the details of the Osuna volumes are not entirely accurate. Of *El Prodigio de Etiopía*, the only 'suelta'—also from the Gayangos collection—is unpagcd. But even if *El Nacimiento de Alba* and *El Prodigio de Etiopía* were paged as 'sueltas' (though it would weaken the case), still it would not be positive evidence that they may not have been contained in Parte XXVI. *extravagante*, inasmuch as Parte XXIX. (Huesca, 1634) is made up almost entirely of plays separately paged, as are likewise all the copies of Lope's Parte VI. that I have seen. Hence we may, perhaps, fairly infer the existence of an otherwise unknown volume, containing these two plays, and we may assume that this volume was the Parte XXVI. *extravagante*, mentioned by Fajardo as containing the said two plays. So far this corroborates Fajardo's statement. But it must be observed that the corroboration is only partial; it is limited to the two plays above named. Fajardo may be right as regards the remaining ten plays. The presumption is even in his favour. Nevertheless it is nothing more than a presumption. We know nothing that would justify us in speaking decisively on this point.

Again, take the case of Parte XXVII., Barcelona, 1633, noted by Barrera on p. 682, col. 2. The contents of this volume are also simply copied by Barrera from Fajardo, and again Barrera says not a word as to the origin of his information. He merely mentions that one of the plays in this Parte XXVII., *Lanza por Lanza*, is in Vol. 133 of the Osuna Library, and he goes on to say that this Vol. 133 is in the main made up of fragments of this very rare Parte XXVII. *extravagante*. Observe that Barrera says this Vol. XXVII. is very rare, but he carefully avoids saying that he has seen it, and skilfully conveys a wrong impression. Yet the case for XXVII. *extravagante* is very strong. The Osuna volume No. 133 contains seven plays, with, apparently, a continuous pagination, from fol. 1 to fol. 146, and six of these plays are said by Fajardo to be in XXVII. *extravagante*. Now we have some knowledge of this pagination elsewhere, and it partly confirms the contents of the volume, though not in the order in which Barrera has given the plays. Salvá (*Catálogo*, Vol. I., p. 548) tells us that he possessed some fragments of an unknown volume, and combining his data (he gives the pagination of his fragments) with what we have in Osuna 133, we get the following, for the contents of Vol. XXVII. *extravagante*:

<i>Lanza por Lanza, la de Luis de Almanza</i> , fols.	21—38.
<i>El Sastre de Campillo</i>	39—62.
<i>Allá darás, Rayo</i>	63—80.
<i>La Selva confusa</i>	81—100.
<i>Julian Romero</i>	101—122.
<i>Los Vargas de Castilla</i>	123—146.

We have, therefore, very strong indications of the existence of a volume which has left no other trace behind. This is a decided corroboration of Fajardo. It will be seen (*Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 438) that Chorley's and Salvá's fragments point to the conclusion that *Julian Romero* ought to be included in XXVII. *extravagante*; its omission warns us to check Fajardo's statements as we should those of any other bibliographer¹.

Concerning Parte XXVIII. *extravagante* there is no confirmation of its contents (so far as I know), as given by Barrera, who takes them from Fajardo. The latter, for example, gives *El Labrador venturoso* as in XXVIII. *extravagante*. Chorley conjectures, and I incline to agree with him, that Fajardo perhaps meant to write XXVIII. *Diferentes*, which does contain *El Labrador venturoso*. This may be a slip of the pen, for volumes bearing the same number, but belonging to different series and issued at divers times and places, do occasionally include the same plays². But Barrera is certainly in difficulties in regard to this XXVIII. *extravagante*, which he says contains *El Palacio confuso*, ascribed to Lope. Fajardo simply notes: 'En Parte XXVIII. de Mescua.' He may have meant *Escogidas* XXVIII., and true, there it is, but ascribed to Mescua. Barrera simply substitutes Lope for Mescua, confusing the matter with Vol. XXVIII. *Diferentes* of Huesca, where the play is ascribed to Lope³.

¹ Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly reminds me, however, that Fajardo mentions *Julian Romero* as being 'en su Parte 17 de Zaragoza,' and suggests that this may be merely a slip of the copyist's for 'Parte 27.'

² Since the above passage was written, Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has pointed out to me that, with the exception of *El trato muda costumbres* (which occurs in Vol. xxx. *Diferentes* of Huesca, 1636, under the title of *El Marido hace mujer*), all the plays mentioned by Fajardo as being in Parte XXVIII. *extravagante* are given in XXVIII. *Diferentes* of Huesca, 1634.

³ See the note in my *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 524. All the information in this article concerning Fajardo's Index (which I have never seen) has been kindly furnished by my friend, Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly. It is a great satisfaction, moreover, to know that his opinion of the *extravagantes* is in substantial agreement with mine.

I may add here that in the list of contents of Part XXIX. (En Huesca, por Pedro Bluson, 1634) given by Barrera, p. 683, he has entirely omitted the second play, *Donde no está su Dueño, está su Duelo*, ascribed to Lope. From the contents of this volume, which I subjoin, it will be seen that it is a made-up volume.

Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Parte veynte y nueue. En Huesca, por Pedro Bluson, Año de 1634.

La Paloma de Toledo:—Lope, Representóla Avendaño, fols. 121—140.

Donde no está su Dueño, está su Duelo:—Lope, Representóla Prado, fols. 58—81.

Querer mas y sufrir menos:—Lope, fols. 1—20 v.

Los Mártires de Madrid:—Lope, fols. 1—20 v.

[*La prospera*

In the matter of these *Partes extravagantes*, therefore, the testimony of Barrera need not be considered at all. He had never seen the *extravagantes* (nor does he, in fact, say that he has seen them, though he permits us to infer as much); he has simply copied Fajardo's Index. Chorley possessed a MS. copy of this Index, and was, moreover, scrupulously careful in his statements; on the whole he was a much better guide. Fajardo, as we have stated above, was the only man who ever saw these *extravagantes*. As Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has said, in a letter to me: 'Apart from the Osuna volumes, the solitary witness [concerning these *Partes extravagantes*] is Fajardo.'

To sum up. (1) I believe there was a Parte XXVI. *extravagante*: (a) on the strength of Fajardo's assertion, and (b) because of the corroborative evidence in the Osuna Vols. 131 and 132, and (c) because Lope de Vega in his *El Desprecio agradecido* distinctly says that there was such a Parte XXVI. (2) I believe, too, most strongly, that there was a Parte XXVII. *extravagante*: (a) on the assertion of Fajardo, which is confirmed by (b) the plays in the Osuna Vol. 133, by the fragments possessed by Salvá, and by (c) Chorley's fragment of *Los Vargas de Castilla*, corresponding to pp. 127—146 of this Osuna Vol. 133. (3) The existence of a Parte XXVIII. *extravagante*, as Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly writes to me, 'depends entirely on the amount of confidence to be placed in Fajardo.' He is not infallible, but his credibility is not seriously shaken. He says there is (or was, rather) a Parte XXVIII. *extravagante*. He makes mistakes, perhaps, in this case (see concerning *El Labrador venturoso*, p. 101, and especially for the remaining plays, note 2 on p. 101); he apparently makes a mistake also in the case of XXVII. *extravagante*, which should include *Julian Romero*. I find less corroborative evidence as to what Fajardo says about XXVIII. *extravagante*, and so its case is very much weaker than that of the two preceding volumes, yet I am inclined to believe such a volume existed, though this belief is wholly based on my faith in Fajardo's assertion.

Unfortunately, as I have said, we must for the present be content with the description which we now possess of the Osuna volumes 131,

La prospera Fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera, Lope, fols. 1—22 v.

La adversa Fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera:—Lope, Representóla Morales, fols. 1—22 v.

Las Mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio:—Lope, Representóla Roque de Figueroa, fols. 1—20 v.

Pusoseme el Sol, saliome la Luna:—Lope de Vega crossed out and Claramonte written above, fols. 1—22.

El Cerco de Peñon de Velez:—Luis Velez de Guevara, fols. 1—20 v.

El Cautivo venturoso:—Francisco de Barrientos, fols. 1—16 v.

Un Gusto trae mil Disgustos:—Juan Perez de Montalban, fols. 1—20 v.

El Hombre de mayor Fama:—Doctor Mira de Mescua, fols. 1—17 v.

132 and 133, for, as already stated, these volumes are not, so far as I can gather, available at the Biblioteca Nacional.

Of some plays contained in the Osuna volumes, duplicates exist in the Biblioteca Nacional, mostly from the Gayangos collection. I subjoin the opening and closing lines:

AMAR COMO SE HA DE AMAR.

(*Suelta*; Biblioteca de Filosofia y Letras de la Universidad Central.)

Comedia Famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio. Representóla Suarez.

Hablan en ella las personas siguientes:

Don Pedro de Cardona.	Turin.
Don Juan, su hermano.	Rugero.
Clarinda, Princesa.	Lucindo.
Ricarda, y Julia, labradora.	El Conde Roberto, padre de Ricarda.

Acto Primero.

Salen Don Pedro y Don Juan.

D. Juan. Fuese el Rey?

D. Pedro. Ya se partió
para castigar el Rey
de Napoles, al Virrey,
que con Sicilia se alçó.
Pero dizen que salió
para estoruarle el castigo
su reuelado enemigo,
con otra famosa armada.

D. Juan. Será dessa infame espada
el mar sepulchro y castigo.

D. Pedro. Yo con quedar me è quedado
corrido, aunque no le niego
a mi amor, por ser tan ciego,
el contento que me à dado;
que a su consejo de Estado
el Rey me manda acudir,
todo es servir, si es servir
al dueño de mis enojos,
sin veros, hermosos ojos,
es imposible viuir.

.....

[fol. 233 v.] *Clarinda.* Razon y amor me aconsejan,
desde oy, don Pedro y Ricarda
Reyes de Napoles sean,
que yo y don Juan lo seremos
de Cicilia.

D. Pedro. Quien pudiera,
sino tu ingenio y valor,
dar tan diuina sentencia?

D. Juan. Señora, con que palabras
quieres que yo te agradezca
tanta merced y fauor?

Clarinda. Con que solamente aprendas
a amar como se ha de amar,
que es la mayor excelencia.
Turin. Pues no dan nada a Turin?
Clarinda. Eres Turin el que sueñas?
Turin. Yo voy.
D. Pedro. Pues dile al Senado
que aqui acaba la Comedia.

NARDO ANTONIO VANDOLERO.

(Suelta, paged 235—254 v. Biblioteca de Filosofia y Letras &c.)

Comedia famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio.

Hablan en ella las personas siguientes:

El Conde de Miranda.	Otro soldado.	Pedro Talla.
Nardo Antonio.	Liseno.	Belarda.
Leonarda.	Un Capitan español.	Pascual
Ricardo, su padre.	Leonido.	Martin } villanos.
Gerardo.	Valerio.	Celia.
Laura.	Lisardo.	Floro.
Leonelo	Moyon.	Rufino, mercader.
Batistela	Montilla, vandolero.	Ybañes.
Roselo	Tres vandoleros.	Liseno, pastor.
Timbrio	Julia, criada.	

Acto Primero.

Suena musica, y salen Batistela, Leonelo y Roselo, soldados.

Roselo. Brauo recibimiento. *Leonelo.* Generoso.
Batistela. De Napoles su esfuerço acreditado,
 que al Conde de Miranda, valeroso,
 muestra en festines general aplauso:
 puede llamarse el Reyno venturoso
 con tal Virrey, que a fuer de buen soldado
 oy à honrado con premios la milicia,
 mezclando la piedad con tal justicia.
Leonelo. A aquesta sala viene. *Batistela.* Aqui veremos
 mas espacio el valor de su presencia,
 a quien tan grande amor los mas deuenos,
 claros indicios de su real clemencia.

[fol. 254 v.]

Leonarda quiero que tenga
fin religioso, ayudando
para su dote mi hazienda,
la Concepcion Española
será su carcel perpetua.

- Nardo.* Dexame besar tus pies;
solo un Español pudiera
hazeme favor tan grande:
ya Leonarda viua quedas,
dame tus brazos y al cielo
a Nardo Antonio encomienda.
- Leonarda.* No puedo sufrir el llanto;
morir contigo quisiera.
- Nardo.* Lleuadlos, que me enternecen,
porque dichoso fin tenga
la vida de Nardo Antonio,
que oy agradaros dessea.

QUERER MAS Y SUFRIR MENOS.

(In *Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio.* Parte veynte y nueue.

En Huesca, 1634.)

Comedia famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio.

Hablan en ella las personas siguientes:

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Don Diego de Castro. | Jacinta. |
| Don Juan de Ribera. | Lope, criado. |
| Doña Leonor. | Don Luys, padre de Doña Ana. |
| Doña Ana, su prima. | Cesar. |

Jornada Primera.

Salen Don Diego y Don Juan.

- D. Diego.* Hable, don Juan, el azero,
supuesto que vos callays,
que de esse silencio infiero
que a pelear me sacays,
y satisfazeros quiero.
Ya no estamos en lugar,
don Juan, de gastar razones,
y assi podreys escusar
el pedir satisfacciones,
quando no las pienso dar.
He conocido el intento.
- Don Juan.* Si, don Diego a esso venis,
pero dezir lo que siento
quiero, si cortes me ois.
- Don Diego.* Ya os escucho. *Don Juan.* Estad atento.
Ya sabeys que en cierta calle,
no es menester que os la nonbre,
que yo sé que la podreys
conocer por mis informes.
Y es bien passarla en silencio,
por los troncos que nos oyen,
que escuchan mudos a vezes
lo que publican a voces.
Sirvo a una dama, don Diego,
claro está que quien esconde
aun el nombre de la calle,
el suyo es bien que perdone.

[fol. 20 v.] *Salen Jacinta y Lope.*

- Lope.* Vive Dios, que quando vi
el alboroto y estruendo,
y las voces, quise dar
con las puertas en el suelo,
que entendi que te mataran;
en efeto no estás muerto?
- Don Diego.* No, Lope, sino casado.
- Lope.* Pues haz quenta que es lo mesmo,
y será quenta muy cierta:
bueno es dexarme al sereno,
y entrarse a casar. *D. Diego.* Que quieres?
- Lope.* Venturoso yo que llevo
tarde al casar. *Doña Leonor.* No tan tarde
que Jacinta. *Lope.* En fin no puedo
escaparme. *D. Diego.* No es possible.
- Lope.* No, pues paciencia, y apelo
para el capuz. *Jacinta.* Malos años.
- Don Luys.* Venid, porque concertemos
estas bodas. *D. Diego.* Esto ha sido
querer mas, y sufrir menos.
Las faltas dissimulad
deste amante atrevimiento,
de aquel que desea serviros,
que esto le basta por premio.

DONDE NO ESTÁ SU DUEÑO, ESTÁ SU DUELO.

(Also in *Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*. Parte veynte y nueve. En Huesca, por Pedro Bluson, año de 1634. This comedia is not mentioned in the list of plays in this volume given by Schack and Barrera.)

Comedia famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio. Representóla Prado.

Hablan en ella las personas siguientes:

El Conde.	Sabina.	El Duque de Terranova.
Don Diego.	Leonor.	D. Juan de Ucunca, veedor.
Un Paje.	Tres Capitanes.	El Duque de Parma.
Vanquete, gracioso.	Don Pedro.	Un Maestro de Campo.
Aurelia.	Zamudio.	Un criado.
Doña Juana.	Villalta.	Criados.

Acto Primero.

Salen el Conde, y Don Diego.

- Conde.* Estremadamente os veo,
con vuestra suerte dichosa,
contento. *D. Diego.* Tengo una esposa
a medida del desseo:
la dicha que yo he tenido
ni se escriue ni se sabe.

Conde. Plegue a Dios que no se acabe,
que ha poco que soys marido.

D. Diego. No puede ser, si segura
tengo la dicha, y el seso,
porque tengo a un mismo peso
la discrecion y hermosura,
y hermosura y discrecion
la vez que vienen a ser
iguales en la muger,
en el hombre eternas son.
Tanto al gusto vive asida,
que pienso al consideralla,
que ay en mi para adoralla
en el alma poca vida.

Conde. El mayor bien viene a ser
de la tierra auer llegado,
a estar siempre enamorado,
un hombre de su muger.

[fol. 81.]

Quando no porque la devo
yo la vida y tu lo mandas,
lo hiziera, por verme aora
el cuchillo a la garganta:
tu esposo soy. *Doña Juana.* Yo soy tuya.

Aurelia. Quien vió cosas tan estrañas?

Vanquete. Señor, perdoname a mi.

Sabina. Si conmigo no se casa,
no lo hagas.

Vanquete. Esso dudas?
he aqui mi mano.

Sabina. Esso basta.

Aurelia. Aora dame los braços.

D. Diego. Toma los braços, y el alma,
y acabe aqui la Comedia,
pues estos exemplos bastan
para que sirva mi esposa,
para que assista en mi casa,
porque me diga siempre mi rezelo
donde no está su dueño, está su duelo.

LA NIÑA DE PLATA.

There are two comedias entitled *La Niña de Plata*, both ascribed to Lope de Vega. The first has the sub-title *El cortés Galan*, and is published in Parte IX. of Lope's *Comedias*, Barcelona, 1618, fol. 103. The other play, with the title *La Niña de Plata y Burla vengada*, exists in MS. in the British Museum (MSS. Eg. 547). Concerning it Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly informed me (see *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 210 n.) that this MS. is dated Montilla, January 29, 1613; also that it is not in Lope's handwriting, that it is not signed by him, that it differs altogether from Lope's printed comedia¹, that it is (so far as he is

¹ It may be convenient to state that Ismenio, Don Diego, Fabio, Don Pedro, Lechuga, Doña Blanca and Xarife are among the numerous characters of *La Niña de Plata* in MSS. Eg. 547.

aware) unpublished, and that it bears no resemblance to Lope's style. The *comedia* as printed in Lope's Parte IX. is edited by Menéndez y Pelayo and appears in Volume IX. of the Academy's edition. This volume is reviewed in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. 28 (1904), by Prof. Restori, and this, like all other reviews of the Academy's edition of Lope, written by that scholar, is of prime importance, both as regards precise knowledge of Lope's theatre and the new critical matter adduced. Menéndez y Pelayo cites a 'suelta' of *La Niña de Plata* of 1781; Restori compares a 'suelta' printed in 1739, with the play as published by Menéndez y Pelayo, and shows the many and very important variations from the original Parte IX. This is another example, if any were needed, of the importance of the 'suelas' for the constitution of a text, although these 'suelas,' as is well known, were generally forced into the regulation number of sheets and often mutilated in most barbarous fashion. I may add that I possess the 'suelta' of this play dated 1781, 'en Valencia, en la Imprenta de Joseph y Thomas Orga,' which seems, barring a few changes, to be identical with that of 1739. The later edition supplies the missing verses in the copy of 1739 (e.g. on p. 114 of Restori's review):

Maestre (not *Arias*, as in 1739 text): Es hija
de un Ventiquatro.

Arias. En el pueblo
tiene estimacion. *Rey*. *Maestre*, etc.

On p. 121 of the *Zeitschrift*, *Don Juan's* speech reads:

Calla, necio, que no estoy
para gracias: ay Leonido!

In the same review, Restori refers to a copy of a very rare and ancient edition of *La Estrella de Sevilla*, which seems to have been torn from a volume, as it is paged 99—120. This volume is not wholly unknown, as was supposed, but is mentioned by Salvá (*Catálogo*, I. p. 548), who possessed a copy of the same fragment, as well as a copy of *La Paloma de Toledo*, paged 121—140, showing that these two comedias were consecutive in the same volume, no other trace of which seems to exist.

EL BRASIL RESTITUIDO.

The autograph of this *comedia*, signed by Lope at Madrid, October 23, 1625, is now in the Lenox Library, New York. Mr Lenox bought it from Mr Obadiah Rich, then U.S. Consul at Valencia, and Mr Rich purchased it from D. Fernando de la Serna. In the Lenox Library is also a transcript made by Henri Ternaux-Compans in 1833,

from Duran's copy. The latter is now in the Biblioteca Nacional, at Madrid. The play has been reprinted in the Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, Vol. XIII.

The Rich collection of Spanish MSS. is now in the Lenox Library, and among them a number formerly owned by Ternaux-Compans.

The cast of *El Brasil Restituido*, which I copied from the autograph, is interesting, and is as follows:

Personas del P^o Acto.

Doña Guiomar	M ^a de Vitoria.
Don Diego.....	Cintor.
Bernardo	Bernardino.
Laurencio	Antonio.
Leonardo	Bobadilla.
El Coronel de Olanda	Arias, con barba Francesa.
Alberto, su hijo.....	El Spiñ Santo del Auto.
El Gobernador	El Autor.
Machado	Pedro.
.....	
.....	
El Brasil	Maria de Cordoba.

Personas del 2^o Acto.

La Religion Catolica	Dorotea.
El Brasil	La Autora.
Don Manuel de Meneses	musico.
Don Fadrique de Toledo	Arias.
Leonardo	Bobadilla.
El Coronel electa	Bernardino.
Don Enrique de Alagon	Cintor.
Don Diego de Espinosa	Antonio.
Don Pedro de Santisteban	Fr ^{co} de rro.
Doña Guiomar	M ^a de Vit ^a .
D. Juan de Orellada.....	Mar ana.
La heregia	M ^a de Vitoria.
Un soldado	El niño.

The 'autor' or manager of this company in 1625 was, in all probability, Andres de la Vega, one of the best known theatrical managers of the first half of the XVIIth century. His wife (in this cast 'la Autora') Maria de Cordoba (called *Amarilis* or *La Gran*

Sultana, was one of the most famous actresses of her time. In the previous year the company of Andres de la Vega represented one of the 'autos' at the Corpus Christi festival in Seville, and also took part in the festival given by the Duke of Medina Sidonia to Philip IV. in that year. Both Andres de la Vega and Maria de Cordoba were still acting in 1643. The latter was the daughter of Antonio Martinez and Isabel de Cordoba, both of Madrid (*Nuevos Datos*, p. 223). Gabriel Cintor was a celebrated 'galan,' who must have been at the height of his fame in 1625. He was in the company of Bobadilla in 1638, receiving 20 reals per day for acting and 10 reals for maintenance besides 50 ducats for the Corpus Christi festival—then a large sum. In the following year he was one of the principal actors in the company of Juan Rodriguez de Antriago (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 312). In 1640 he had a company of his own. He is said to have died poor in the General Hospital at Madrid. Luis Bernardo de Bobadilla, like most actors of note, afterwards became an *autor* (theatrical manager), and had his own company in 1637 and 1638. His wife was Maria de Victoria, also a celebrated actress. In 1624 and 1639 Bobadilla and Maria de Victoria were members of the company of Antonio de Prado (*Nuevos Datos*, pp. 206, 325). Damian Arias de Peñafiel, the first actor of his day, was in the company of Juan de Morales Medrano in the previous year (1624). He had a company of his own in 1639, and we find him again in the company of Vallejo in 1643, in which year he is said to have died at Arcos.

'Dorotea' is a very rare name amongst the actresses of the xviiith century: I find only Dorotea de Sierra, wife of Juan Mazana, 'musico,' in the long list of Pérez Pastor (*Nuevos Datos*, pp. 247 and 328—329). She seems to have been an actress of considerable reputation in 1636. She died before May 30, 1642. Her husband may be the actor here taking the part of Don Manuel de Meneses.

Bernardino is probably Bernardino Alvarez, who was in Balbin's company in 1613, and in Prado's company in 1624. Antonio is perhaps Juan Antonio, in Prado's company in 1639 (Sanchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 325).

Fr^{co} de rro = probably Francisco de Robles, an actor at least as early as 1609; he was in the company of Pedro de Valdez in 1623, and in that of Juan de Morales Medrano in 1624.

‘MEMORANDUMS OF THE IMMORTAL BEN.’

Die im folgenden veröffentlichten ‘Memorandums’¹ befinden sich auf der freien Rückseite des letzten Blattes eines seit Kurzem in meinen Besitz übergegangenen Exemplars der Quarto 1674 von Jonson’s *Catiline*². Leider hat, wie man aus dem beigegebenen Faksimile ersehn wird, ein von Gott verlassener Binder u. a. am oberen Rande mindestens eine Zeile weggeschnitten, was um so mehr zu bedauern ist, als dieselbe Auskunft über die Herkunft dieser wertvollen ‘Memorandums’ enthalten haben wird.

Ich gebe nun zunächst den Text in Umschrift und füge vor] die mir wahrscheinlichen Ergänzungen des linken Randes bei.

- Me]m. I laid the plot of my Volpone, & wrote most of it, after a present
[of 10 dozen of
] sack, from my very good L^d T—r; that Play I am positive will last
[to Posterity, &
- (3)]d when I & envy are friends, with applause.
- Me]m. The first Speech in my Cataline, spoken by Scylla’s Ghost, was writ
[after I parted from
my] Boys at the Devil-Tavern; I had drunk well that night, & had brave
[notions. There is one
- (6) scen]e in that Play which I think is flat; I resolve to mix no more water
[with my wine.
- M]em. Upon the 20th of May, the King, Heaven reward him sent me
[100 l. I went often to the
Devil] about that time, & wrote my Alchymist bef[ore] I had spent 50 l.
[of it.
- (9) M]em. At Christmas my L^d B— took me with him into the Country;
[there was great plenty of ex-
cellen]t claret-wine. A new character offered its[elf] to me there, upon which
[I wrote my Silent Woman.
- My L^d] smild & made me a noble present upon reading the first act to him,
[ordering at the same time a

¹ Den Eintrag, der im Faksimile in der linken unteren Ecke steht, habe ich unberücksichtigt gelassen, da er nicht gleichzeitig gemacht zu sein scheint und uns überdies nichts Neues bietet. Der ‘Translator of Boileau’s *Lutrin*’ war N. Rowe, 1708. Ich bin übrigens nicht einmal ganz sicher, dass beide Einträge von derselben Hand stammen.

² Der Text dieser Quarto ist im Wesentlichen der uns bekannte. Zugefügt ist: ‘A Prologue To *Catiline*, To be merrily spoke by Mrs *Nell* [Gwynne], in an *Amazonian habit*’ sowie ‘The Epilogue By the same.’

- (12) { good quantity of the wine to be sent to
London with me when I went, & it lasted
me till my work was finished.
- (15) { Mem. The Tale of a Tub, the Devil is an
Asse, & some other of low Comedy, were written
by poor Ben Johnson. I remember, that I did
- (18) { not succeed in any one composition in a
whole winter; it was that winter honest Ralf
the Drewer died, & when I & my Boys drank
bad wine at the Devil.

Memorandums of the Immortal BEN.

Da diese Einträge nichts enthalten, was mit den wenigen uns bekannten Tatsachen aus Ben Jonsons Leben (ca. 1604—ca. 1611) nicht in Einklang stünde, so wird an ihrer Echtheit nicht zu zweifeln sein. Weil nun ferner in Z. 7 ganz genau das Datum, an welchem der König Ben £100 sandte, als der 20. Mai bezeichnet wird, so scheinen diese Einträge jedenfalls auf eigenhändigen Notizen Jonsons zu beruhen. Man könnte allenfalls noch annehmen, dass sie auf sofort beim Erzählen niedergeschriebene Aufzeichnungen eines Verehrers des Dichters zurückgehen (vergl. 'I remember' in Z. 17), doch hätte dieser Verehrer keinerlei Grund gehabt, die beiden Namen L^d T—r in Z. 2 und L^d B— in Z. 9, die ihm bei dieser Annahme vorgespochen worden wären, nicht voll auszuschreiben.

Auf Grund des beigegebenen Faksimiles wird es vielleicht möglich sein, den Namen des wackeren Mannes ausfindig zu machen, dem wir die Erhaltung der Notizen in meiner Quarto 1674 verdanken; seine Schrift scheint auf den Ausgang des 17. oder Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts hinzudeuten.

Die vollständige Ausbeutung und Verwertung dieser Einträge ist mir hier leider versagt, da mir die nötigen Hilfsmittel fehlen. Ich hoffe, dass ein Englischer Kollege bald nachholt was ich versäumen musste.

Im Einzelnen kann ich bemerken: Z. 1—2: lies: dozen (bottles) of fine(?) Z. 2: L^d T—r ist wol Lord Treasurer zu lesen. Es würde sich um Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset und Baron Buckhurst (*D.N.B.*), handeln, der dieses hohe Amt bis zu seinem Tode (19. April 1608) bekleidete. Z. 7: 20. May *i.e.* 1610. Dieses Datum würde die Theorie Fleay's im Grossen und Ganzen bestätigen. Z. 8: Zur Ehre Ben's wollen wir annehmen, dass er auch 'books or bread' (*Underwoods*, xcvi) kaufte! Z. 9: Es käme darauf an, unter der nicht gerade grossen Anzahl von Edelleuten, die der Abkürzung L^d B— entsprechen können, denjenigen ausfindig zu machen, der nach alter, guter, aber im Verschwinden begriffener Sitte Weihnachten 1609 auf seinem Landsitz

zubrachte und dann unter dessen Bekannten den 'new character' zu ermitteln. Es wird sich um Sir John Daw und eher noch um Sir Amorous La-Foole handeln, den L^d B— nach der Lektüre von Act I leicht erkannt haben muss. Z. 15—17: Die Worte 'The Tale...Johnson' sind vom Schreiber als eine Art Illustration zu Ben's Eintrag vorge-
 setzt worden; wir würden etwa gesagt haben: 'Ben wird an Tale of a Tub und Devil is an Ass gedacht haben.' Die 'Illustration' ist für uns von keinem Belang. Da aber die Lage der Devil Tavern bekannt ist und 'honest Ralf' im Devil selbst gestorben sein kann, so würde es sich der Mühe verlohnen, die betr. Kirchenbücher nach Ralf's Todestag zu durchsuchen, um auf diese Weise den Winter zu fixieren, in dem poor Ben schlechten Wein zu trinken bekam und in Folge dessen Nichts vor sich brachte.

Mr Percy Simpson, dem ich als überzeugtem 'Jonsonian' einen Abzug des Faksimiles zusandte, hatte die Güte, mir die folgenden wertvollen Anmerkungen zu senden:

I. See David Hughson [a pseudonym of Edward Pugh], *London; being an accurate history and description of the British Metropolis and its Neighbourhood to thirty miles extent, From an actual Perambulation*, 6 vols. 1805—1809.

In Vol. iv, p. 40 (publ. 1807) Hughson quotes in reference to the Devil Tavern and Ben's connexion with it 'some of this comic writer's memoranda' from 'an antient manuscript preserved at Dulwich college'¹:

'*Mem.* I laid the plot of my *Volpone*, and wrote most of it after a present of ten dozen of *Palm Sack*, from my very good lord T—; that play, I am positive, will last to posterity, and be acted *when I and Envy be friends, with applause.*'

'*Mem.* The first speech in my *Catiline*, spoken by *Scylla's* ghost, was writ *after I parted with my friends at the Devil Tavern*; I had drank well that night, and had brave notions. There is one scene in that play which I think is flat. *I resolve to drink no more water with my wine.*

'*Mem.* Upon the 20th of May, the king, (Heaven reward him) sent me a hundred pounds. *At that time I went oftentimes to the Devil*; and before I had spent forty of it, wrote my *ALCHYMIST*.

'*Mem.* My lord B— took me with him into the country; there was great plenty of excellent *Canary*. A new character offered itself to me here; upon which I wrote my *SILENT WOMAN*; my lord was highly delighted; and upon my reading the first act to him, made me a noble present; ordering, at the same time, a good (portion) of the wine to be sent with me to London.

'It lasted me until my work was finished.

¹ Da dieses 'antient manuscript' weder von Collier in seinen *Memoirs of Edw. Alleyn* (Sh. Soc. 1841), noch von Warner in seinem *Catalogue of the Manuscr. and Mem. of Alleyn's Coll. of God's Gift at Dulwich* erwähnt wird, so ist es bis auf Weiteres wahrscheinlich, dass es wie so manches andere früher im Besitz von Dul. Coll. befindliche Stück verloren gegangen ist.

'*Mem.* The DIVILL IS AN ASSE, the TALE OF A TUB, and some other comedies which did not succeed, by me in the winter honest Ralph died; *when I and my boys drank bad wine at the Devil.*'

II. 'Honest Ralph' has a charming commemoration elsewhere. Aubrey in his biographical notes and jottings (Aubrey MS. 8. 55 of the Bodleian) has the following:

'A Grace of *Ben: Johnson.* extempore. before King James.
 Our King and Queen the Lord-God blefse,
 The Paltzgrave, and the Lady Befse,
 And God blefse every living thing,
 That lives, and breath's, and loves the King.
 God blefse the Councell of Estate,
 And Buckingham the fortunate.
 God blefse them all, and keepe them safe:
 And God blefse me, and God blefse Raph.

'The K. was mighty enquisitive to know who this Raph was: Ben told him twas the Drawer at the Swanne taverne by Charing-crosse who drew him good Canarie. for this drollery his Matie gave him an hundred poundes.'

George Powell the actor confirms this story in 'The Epistle Dedicatory to the Patentees, and Sharers of their Majesties Theatre' prefixed to *The Treacherous Brothers*, 1690, sig. A 2 verso: 'The time has been when as old *Ben* ended his Grace with God blefs me, and God blefs *Ralph*, viz. the honest Drawer that drew him good Sack. So some Modern Authors with the same Equity, might full as Pathetically have furnifh'd out one Article of their Prayers, (not forgetting the present Props of the Stage) with God blefs Mohun, and God blefs Hart, the good Actors that got 'em their good third Days, and consequently more substantial Patrons then the greatest gay Names, in the Frontispiece of the proudest Dedication.'

Da der Pfalzgraf (Friedrich V.; kam zum ersten Male nach England im Okt. 1612), Lady Besse (Prinzessin Elizabeth; heiratete den Pfalzgrafen 14. Febr. 1613), und Buckingham (Geo. Villiers, first Duke of B.) in diesem Gedicht zusammen genannt werden—nach *D.N.B.* wurde Buckingham erst im Jahre 1614 bei Hofe vorgestellt—so ist es unmöglich, die in l. 7 genannten £100 mit den von Aubrey erwähnten zu identifizieren. Desto besser für poor Ben.

W. BANG.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 'PAREGLIO' IN DANTE.

Perch' io la veggio nel verace specchio
Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,
E nulla face lui di sè pareglio.

Paradiso xxvi. 106—108.

CONSIDERABLE difference of opinion has prevailed as to the exact meaning and construction of the words in this passage. The general sense of the passage is clear. Dante desires to put certain questions to the soul of the first man. Adam says that the poet need not inform him of his wish. The spirit of Adam has already seen it depicted in the mirror which reflects all things, namely God. Yet although God is the mirror of all things, it is He who makes them like Himself, not they who fashion Him in their own image. Lines 107, 108 appear to be characteristically intended to guard against any derogatory notion of the divine nature which might be conveyed by the use of the word *specchio*. God has made all things in His own likeness; He is not moulded in their likeness by receiving impressions from them.

Two of the earliest and best commentaries, both of the fourteenth century, which adopt different readings of line 107, explain the meaning of the passage in similar terms. Benvenuto da Imola, who reads *che fa di sè pareglie l' altre cose*, writes 'Quia Deus omnia comprehendit et continet in se, et non e converso; unde dicit *e nulla* (scilicet res) *face lui pareglio di sè*, id est et nil comprehendit et continet eum, quia nulla res est in quo appareat totus Deus tanquam in speculo, sed bene omnia apparent in speculo Dei'; and the Ottimo Commento, reading *pareglio all' altre cose*, adds '...Dio il quale fa di sè a l' altre cose pareglio, cioè che tutto comprende, e nulla puote lui comprendere. La pupilla si fa pareglio della cosa veduta in quanto quella specie visiva, che entro vi si moltiplica, e colorata e figurata al modo d' essa cosa veduta; così in Dio si vede tutto, e però in quanto il si vede, ello si pareglia a quella cosa che in lui si vede, e pero dice *fa di sè pareglio a l' altre cose, e nulla*

face lui di sè pareghio.' But although the general sense of the passage is clear, doubt arises as to the exact meaning of *pareghio*, or *pareglie* (according to the reading adopted). It has been taken as equivalent to, or derived from, *parecchio*, 'like'; it has also been taken as a metaphorical term = Gk *παρήλιος*, a 'mock sun' (i.e. a figure of the sun on the edge of a solar halo), and hence generally 'copy,' 'likeness.' A large number, if not the majority, of modern commentators adopt the latter explanation. The present essay is intended to review the evidence, and to show that there is little or no justification for this interpretation.

First, as to the identification of *pareghio* with *parecchio* whether used here as an adjective or as a substantive.

Nannucci (*Voci e locuzioni Italiane deriv. dalla lingua Prov.* p. 52) points out that *pareghio* if used as an adjective, equivalent to Fr. *pareil*, would be quite regular in formation. The Provençal *parelh* would become either *parecchio* or *pareghio*; as *velh* = *vecchio* or *veghio*; *espeilh* = *specchio* or *spieglio*; *aurelh* = *orecchia* or *oreglia*. Nannucci cites three examples of *pareghio* (adj.) in the sense of *parecchio* from early sonnet writers. If *pareghio* is here used as a substantive derived from the same root, he shows that it may be compared with *pariglia* = a pair (of numbers on dice), and with the Prov. *parelh* = a couple, so that Dante would not have introduced any startling novelty by using *pareghio* in the sense of copy, likeness. The rarer form *spieglio* would naturally have suggested the rarer form *pareghio*.

Secondly, as to the identification of *pareghio* with *parelion*. There can be no doubt that Dante would have been familiar with the word *parelion*, the Latinized form of the Gk *παρήλιος* or *παρήλιον*. It occurs in Seneca, *Q. N.* I. c. 11, a book with which Dante may have been acquainted. (See Dr Moore, *Studies in Dante*, First Series, p. 289.) It also occurs several times in the Latin Translations of the *De Meteoris* of Aristotle, a work with which Dante was familiar whether in the *Nuova* or in the *Vecchia Traslazione* (see *Conv.* II. c. 15)¹. But the word is there used only in its literal, astronomical sense. Of a metaphorical sense of *parelion*, Ducange gives two interesting examples from early medieval sources, one from the *Vita Sancti Wunibaldi* ('Sacer ille atque perfectus Barilion') and another from the *Itinerarium Sancti Willibaldi* ('Ille beatus Parilion Willibaldus'), two documents which are believed to have been composed by the same hand in the eighth century. In

¹ Two translations styled *nova* and *antiqua* are included in the large edition of the works of Aquinas in 12 vols. fol. printed at Paris in 1645 and subsequent years. Dante's *Nuova Traslazione* appears to correspond with the *Antiqua Translatio* of that edition (see Dr Moore, *Studies* I. p. 318).

both passages the word refers to the image of Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, reflected in the character of His followers. There is no proof that the word was current, even in this sense, in the age of Dante, still less that it had been adopted generally in the sense of 'image' or 'reflection.' *Parelion* does not appear to occur in the original writings of Albertus Magnus or Aquinas. If Dante had been turning an astronomical term to a metaphorical use unknown to his contemporaries, it seems reasonable to suppose that he would have made this procedure more intelligible to his readers. Would not Dante, with his fondness for astronomical similes, have seized the opportunity for introducing a simile here which would have made his meaning clear?

Something must be said as to the exegesis of the passage, which will vary with the reading adopted. Line 107 is found in the MSS. in three different forms:

Che fa di sè $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pareglie l'} \\ \text{pareglio all'} \\ \text{pareglio l'} \end{array} \right\}$ altre cose.

The first two readings have the great preponderance of support. Scartazzini gives a *résumé* of the authority for each, which appears to be almost equal. If *pareglie* = *parecchie*, the first reading bears an obvious sense 'which' (viz. *specchio* = *Dio*) 'makes all other things like itself.' The other two variants are most easily accounted for on the supposition that this (which is supported by the authority both of Benvenuto da Imola, and of several of the best commentators prior to the end of the sixteenth century) was the original reading. This reading requires *di sè* to be taken with *pareglie*, a construction which is strongly supported by line 108, 'E nulla face lui di sè pareglio.' *Di sè* is here most naturally construed with *pareglio*. *Lui* would be, as most frequently, an emphatic objective case. But the preposition *di* is very often constructed with *fare*. (See among many other instances *Purg.* xix. 42, *Par.* vi. 132, xxi. 17.) A scribe who so construed the words here would naturally introduce *a*, the more usual preposition, after *pareglie*, which would then necessarily be changed to the singular, and taken as a substantive. Another scribe who understood the construction of *di sè*, would then omit the preposition after *pareglio*, still leaving the word as a substantive. Many of the modern commentators who take *pareglio* = *parelion*, and refer it to the image of things reflected on God, fail to observe that this rendering greatly increases the embarrassment which Dante is here removing, viz. the apparent subordination of the Deity to nature when He is compared with a mirror. Fraticelli ingeniously avoids this by constructing *fa* with *all' altre cose*, and *di sè*

with *pareglio*, 'God makes an image of Himself upon other things, but other things do not make their image upon Him.' There are objections to this rendering both on grounds of construction and of sense. As to the latter, Dante, as we shall see below, does not mean to deny the *reflection* of things in God which this translation would do. The comparison of the divine mind to a mirror was familiar to students of Aquinas. Dante means to deny (as will shortly be seen) that created things have any power of producing a *likeness* between themselves and God. This requires us to take *pareglio* in the more general sense of *parecchio*. He holds that God makes things like Himself, and that this is the reason why they can be seen mirrored in Him as their cause. Although the first of the readings discussed above conveys the required sense most easily, it is equally given by the second reading, if (with Nannucci) we refer *pareglio* in its use as a substantive to *parecchio*. Witte, who is preeminent among modern Dante scholars, while reading *pareglio all' altre cose*, decisively rejects the identification with *parelion*, translating—

Der alle Dinge macht nach seinem Bilde
Indess kein Ding zu seinem Bild Ihn macht.

Besides critical and exegetical reasons there are two arguments against the identification of *pareglio* with *parelion*, which have not hitherto received sufficient attention, but appear to me conclusive against the usual interpretation. There is not a trace of this interpretation in any of the earlier commentators down to the edition of the *Commedia* published by the Accadèmia della Crusca in 1595. In the marginal note appended to the word *pareglio* in that edition (quoted by Scartazzini *in loc.*) it is for the first time identified with *parelion*. This gloss is afterwards cited in the Dictionary of the Academy. Buti († 1406) is quoted by the Academicians, and also by Lubin and other modern commentators, in support of this theory. But if any one will refer to Buti (in the edition of his commentary printed at Pisa, 1862) he will see that his authority is on the other side. It is true that the use of *pareglio* as a substantive gave some trouble to those early commentators who bestow special attention on the word. The commentary of Buti, who reads *pareglio*, gives support to the relationship of the word with *parecchio*. At the same time he writes '*E nulla face lui*, cioè Iddio, *parellio*, cioè recettacolo, *di sè*.' Similarly if we refer to the marginal comment on the ancient MS. of Monte Cassino which reads *pareglio* (printed at Monte Cassino in 1865 and quoted by Scartazzini) he will find that this annotator first traces *pareglio* to *parecchio* ('*pareglio id*

est parificationem omnibus rebus virtualiter'), and then adds 'Vel loquitur de illo rete dicto *pareglío* quod tenditur in montibus ad capiendum aves.' It is reasonable to suppose that the word, if used in this latter sense, may still be derived from the shape of the net and = *parelh* 'a pair of nets.' In any case the old commentators, who would have known the word *parelion*, if it had been current in a metaphorical sense in the age of Dante, or would have preserved some tradition of the coinage of the term, if Dante had invented it, are all either silent about the word, or favourable to the other interpretation of *pareglío* = *parecchio*.

The time at which *pareglío* is for the first time identified with *parelion*, is exactly the epoch at which such an hypothesis was likely to be floated. It was the age of euphuism, and of poetical conceits. The Italian 'Academies,' of which some two or three hundred are said to have sprung into existence between the end of the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century, were the centres in which this literary fashion was fostered and encouraged. Any interpretation which was far-fetched and fanciful was for that reason acceptable. The fact that this interpretation of *pareglío* did not appear before the publication of the Cruscan edition of the *Commedia*, is a strong argument against it.

Another and even stronger argument seems hitherto to have been left out of sight. Dante is here no doubt, as elsewhere, reproducing the teaching of Aquinas. If the teaching and language of Aquinas be considered, little doubt will be left as to the interpretation of *pareglío*. In the whole of the first part of the *Summa* he is constantly referring to the likeness between God and His creatures, *i.e.* the world of phenomena. 'Similitudo' and 'similis' are terms perpetually recurring, and would most naturally suggest themselves to Dante in recalling the teaching of Aquinas. When a resemblance exists between two objects, that resemblance is often predicated in the same language of each in turn: Man is like God, God is like man. So it might be said not only that God is the mirror of things, but that created beings are the mirror of God. This language was sanctioned by Aquinas in explaining 1 Cor. xiii. 12. *Summa I. Q.* lvi. 3: 'Secundum quod Deus videtur in speculo creaturarum,' and in the same *Quæstio* explaining Rom. i. 20: 'Unde et dicimur Deum videre in speculo.' But Dante desired here to present the other aspect of the truth. The blessedness of Adam, as of the other spirits in heaven, consisted in the vision of God, who is the mirror of all things. So Aq. *Summa I. Q.* xii. 8 (2): 'Præterea quicumque videt speculum, videt ea quæ in speculo resplendent. Sed omnia quæcumque fiunt vel fieri possunt in Deo resplendent, velut in quodam speculo.' There is the same

interchange in the application of the terms 'similis' and 'similitudo' to God, and to man. God is said to know all things, even individual objects and occurrences, because in a sense He is like them. Aq. *Summa I. Q.* lvii. 2: 'Deus per essentiam suam per quam omnia causat est similitudo omnium, et per eam omnia cognoscit, non solum quantum ad naturam universalem, sed etiam secundum earum singularitatem.' Here and elsewhere Aquinas explains this likeness as due to the causative power of God. *Summa I. Q.* xiv. 11: 'Cum enim sciat alia a se per essentiam suam, in quantum est similitudo rerum velut principium activum earum.' But in the conception of likeness, as in the simile of the mirror, there is another point of view. The creature is like God, because of its dependence on Him as its cause. In this respect the likeness is found only in the creature. Aq. *Summa I. Q.* iv. 3: 'Licet aliquo modo concedatur quod creatura sit similis Deo, nullo tamen modo concedendum est quod Deus sit similis creaturæ; quia, ut dicit Dionysius, in his quæ unius ordinis sunt, recipitur mutua similitudo; non autem in causa et causato. Dicimus enim quod imago est similis homini, sed non e converso. Et similiter dici potest quod aliquo modo creatura sit similis Deo, non tamen quod Deus sit similis creaturæ.' Dante is here insisting on that half of the truth set forth by Aquinas in the *Summa I. Q.* xii. 8, and *Q.* iv. 3. It is at least probable that this latter passage was present to his mind when he wrote these lines of the *Paradiso*. They are almost an exact translation of it. In any case no word would have expressed his meaning and that of Aquinas so well as *pareglio* used as equivalent to *parecchio*.

The argument in favour of this interpretation is cumulative, and appears to me convincing. If the reading *pareglie l'altre cose* be accepted, no other interpretation would be possible; but even with one of the other readings it is far more probable that Dante would have given a slight extension to the meaning of a substantive *pareglio* derived from the adjective = 'like,' than that he would have employed an astronomical term in a new sense unknown to his contemporaries, and that no memory or tradition of this usage of the word should have survived. The exact coincidence between Dante and Aquinas, supposing that *pareglio* = *parecchio*, is perhaps the strongest argument of all.

W. W. JACKSON.

NOTES ON 'THE DEVIL'S CHARTER'

BY BARNABE BARNES¹.

I.

293: Mallice performe thy worst least comming late,
 I with anticipation crosse that fate. Read it, toot man.

I believe 'toot' stands for 'to't,' i.e. 'to it,' and not 'tut,' as explained in the note. Cp. *Hamlet*, v, 1, 56; *Taming of the Shrew*, i, 2, 195; *Othello*, iii, 1, 17. [Prof. Moore Smith also suggests this interpretation. Ed.]

1316: Vnder the King of *Romaines* I was cut,
 Iust from this shoulder to the very pappe:
 And yet by fortunes of the warre am heere,
 I thanke God, and my Surgion, all fix, trillill.

'Fix,' I believe to be of Dutch origin. It should be borne in mind that the speaker is Frescobaldi, a mercenary who has fought in many wars. In the Elizabethan drama Dutch words are very common, especially in the mouths of soldiers who might be expected to have picked them up in the Low Countries. I may mention the following examples: 'skellum' (Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, iii, 1); 'tannikin' (*ib.*); 'skink' (Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, ii, 1); 'upsee Dutch' (Jonson, *The Alchemist*, iv, 4); 'mannikin' (Jonson, *Epicoene*, i, 1); 'frolick' (Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, ii, 1); 'liefhebber,' 'linstock,' 'lighter' (cp. *N.E.D. i.v.*). In several plays whole sentences are Dutch (e.g. *The Shoemaker's Holiday*), which shows the constant and close intercourse there was at that time between the two countries. The Dutch adjective 'fiksche,' adverb 'fiks' (old spelling, 'fix'), is used in various senses: 'good,' 'thorough,' 'lusty,' 'healthy' (with the corresponding adverbs); 'ik ben niet erg fiksche' is common in colloquial Dutch for 'I don't feel very well.' This meaning exactly suits the context both here and in line 2679, where the word occurs again. For examples of 'fix' in Dutch

¹ *The Devil's Charter* by Barnabe Barnes, edited from the Quarto of 1607 by R. B. McKerrow (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, herausgegeben von W. Bang, Vol. vi), Louvain, 1904.

writers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Starter's *Friesche Lusthof*, edited by Van Vloten, pp. 86, 412 ('elck heeft syn tuyghje fix,' 'ick hou al myn tuyghje reyn, fix en vaerdigh'). Cp. German 'fix,' meaning 'ready,' 'quick,' 'active,' 'prompt,' 'smart.'

'Trillill' (l. 1319) I suppose to be from the refrain of an old drinking-song or love-song. Cp.

Hogyn cam to bowers dore,
Hogyn cam to bowers dore,
He tryld vpon ye pyn for love,
 hum, ha, trill go bell!
He tryld vpon ye pyn for love||
 hum, ha, trill go bell.

(*Anglia*, xxvi, 273.)

Cp. also 'tyrly tirlow' (*ib.* 237); 'troul loly loly' (Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, iv, 5; Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, v).

1348: *Frescobaldi*...For I may parcase catch him in a gilder my selfe before you are aware; and moylie muffle vp his maistership, with the *garotta*, or *stiletto*, etc.

In 'moylie' I recognise another Dutch word. The meaning is evidently 'neatly,' 'nicely,' in a sarcastic sense, which the Dutch 'mooi' or 'mooitjes' ('fine,' 'nice,' 'pretty') often has.

1385: Besides I was the first that from the *Suisse* quarter, in the raigne of king *Ferdinand* brought vp in his army the fashions of bowsing and towsing *Greeke* and *Spanish* wines by the flagon.

I agree with the editor that 'bowsing and towsing' means little else than what is expressed by the first word, viz. 'drinking,' 'boozing.' 'Bowse' is the Dutch 'buizen' (see *N.E.D. i.v.* 'bouse'). Very probably the second word is the Dutch 'tuischen,' 'to gamble,' 'cheat at games.' The words must often have been used together and may have been taken for synonyms. Cp. Engl. 'kith and kin' (*N.E.D. i.v.* 'kith,' 5).

1569: And if I lye, call me thy Wimble-cock.

Some light may be thrown upon this word by the entries 'wimble,' 'wimple,' 'windle' in the *Dialect Dictionary*. To 'wimble' means to enter in a sinuous manner, to turn round and round. The adjective 'wimble' means quick, lively, nimble; loose, easily moved. The Dictionary quotes 'He was so wimble and so wight' from Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, March, 91. To 'wimple' means to squirm, wriggle, writhe; to tell an indirect and intricate story, especially with intent to deceive. An obsolete sense of the substantive 'wimple' is an intricate turn, a wile, a piece of craft. To 'windle' is used in the sense of to whirl round in the air; of snow, to drift. 'Wimble-cock' might very well mean 'an unreliable fellow,' 'a story-teller,' considering that sinuous or tortuous movement appears to be the fundamental meaning of all the

words quoted. 'Wimble-cock' may be due to analogy with 'weather-cock' (with which indeed in its original use it was probably synonymous).

1589: I see thou kennist the secrets of all sorts,
Of sharpe siringues and salacious sports:
Venerall Buboes, Tubers Vicerous,
And *Iannes De fisticanckers* venemous.

For 'siringues' I would refer to 'glister pipe' in line 1339. 'Fisticanckers' I hold to be a playful formation after the type of 'fisticuffs,' from 'fist,' a foul smell, stink, and 'cancker,' cancer, chancre, a venereal disease. The whole is made into a fanciful proper name by prefixing 'Iannes (*i.e.* Johannes) de.'

A. E. H. SWAEN.

II.

381: In *Tuskany* within the Riuier *Narre*.

The river *Nera* was anciently called *Nar*.

443: Tis well sayd *Caesar*, yet attend a little,
And binde them like rich bracelets on thine armes
Or as a precious iewell at thine eare.

This may have been suggested by *Deut.* vi, 8; xi, 18.

446: Suppose two factious Princes both thy friends
Ambitious both, and both competitors,
Aduance in hostile armes against each other
Ioyne with the strongest to confound the weake
But let your wars foundation touch his Crowne,
Your neerest Charity concernes your selfe;
Els let him perish; yet seeme charitable.

I agree with the editor in thinking that 'let' (line 450) cannot mean 'prevent,' but I take 'his Crowne' to refer to the weaker of the two Princes. I interpret: 'But when the war is so successful that the crown of the man you oppose is in danger, then you must consider what is to your own interest. Apart from that, you may let him perish.' 'Your war's foundation' is I suppose, 'the war you have set on foot.' Another possible interpretation is to take 'his crown' as 'its crown,' *i.e.* 'when your war, thus started, has reached its crowning success.' However that does not seem to agree with 'Els let him perish.'

1227: It is so violent it will not last.

A reference to the proverb, '*Violentum non est diuturnum*' (Walter, *Gnomologia*). Cp. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 894: 'Thy violent vanities can never last.'

1494: Admit he force me with his ambroccado
Here I deceiue then, with this passado
And come vppon him in the speeding place.

Would it suit with the case to read: 'Here I deceive him then with this passado'?

- 1526: *Frescobaldi*. Braue man whose spirit is approued well,...
 In portall, porches, vnder batterd walles,
 Which day; by night keepes watch-full centinell.

If no authority can be found for the phrase 'day by night' I suppose it to be a mistake for 'day by day' or 'night by night.' Or should we read 'ay (aye) by night'?

- 1956: A bastard of our house, degenerate,
 In whom no sparke or spiracle of honor,
 Appear'd to raise the race of *Borgia*.

I think 'spiracle' means 'breath.'

- 2054: Sweet mouth the Ruby port to Paradice
 Of my worlds pleasure from whence issue forth,
 Many false brags, bold sallies, sweet supplies.

The words 'port,' 'brags,' 'sallies,' suggest that 'supplies' is used in a military sense, 'assistance or reinforcements to friends.' Cp. *King John*, v, 5, 12; 2 *Henry IV*, i, 3, 12.

- 2970: I feele *Vesenus* raging in my guttes.

The word is, I think, 'Vesevus,' an established form for Vesuvius.

- 3138: And therefore man was called *Microcosmus*,
 The little world, and second tipe of God,
 Conteyning those high faculties and functions,
 And elements which are within the world.
 Man then that doth participate with all,
 Through operation, conuersation, and simbolisation,
 With matter in the subiect properly,
 With th' elements in body quadrifarie,
 With growing plants in vertue vegetatiue
 In sence with beasts; with heauens by th' influence
 Of the superiour spirits into th' inferiour
 In wisdom and capacitie with Angels,
 With *Eloym* in that great continent,
 Is without doubt preserued by that God,
 Finding all things contained in himselfe.

I think this passage expresses fairly well the doctrine of man as the microcosm, or epitome of the Universe. Man, who in his works, life and significance (?) participates in all things, *i.e.* as compounded of clay, with brute matter, as having a body in which earth, air, fire and water exist, with these elements; as possessing the vegetative soul with plants, as possessing the animal or sense-soul with animals, by having a higher soul which influences the lower faculties, with the heavens; by

the range of his intellect, with angels; by thus embracing all powers and faculties, with God himself. Man so constituted, is preserved by God, and so has all things. Cp. H. C. Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy*, iii, 36, 459: 'Man symbolizeth with the plants in a vegetative virtue, with animals in a sensitive faculty.' Donne, *Letter to the Countess of Salisbury*, line 52: 'We first have souls of growth and sense, and those When our last soul, our soul immortal, came, Were swallowed into it and have no name.' Milton, *Par. Lost*, v, 482; ix, 112: 'Gradual life Of growth, sense, reason, all summed up in Man.' On the influence of the stars on their inferiors, cp. Sylvester-Du Bartas, 1st Week, 4th Day: 'He that doth affirm the Stars To have no force on these inferiors,' and Tataré or Tartaré, *Comm. in Arist. de Celo et mundo*, 64 d: 'Celum agit in hec inferiora triplici instrumento.'

3316: *Heroicke and benevolent spectators,
Your gracious cares, and curious observations,
Iudicious censures, and sweete clemencie,
Haue thus address our Tragick Theater,
T^e exchange contentment, for benignitie.*

The sense seems to require that 'address' should have the meaning of 'incited' or 'disposed in a certain direction.' The kind attitude of the audience has incited the tragedians to make a return for the kindness received.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

[The Editor has kindly given me an opportunity of seeing in proof the interesting and valuable notes here printed and of adding such comment as seems desirable. I may therefore briefly say that I quite agree with the explanation of 'toot' as 'to it' in l. 294, an interpretation of the word which had not occurred to me. In l. 1349 the connection of 'moylie' with the Dutch 'mooi' had been suggested by Professor Bang, who, however, afterwards withdrew his note in view of the use of the word by King James in the *Essayes of a Prentise*. In ll. 3138—3152 Professor Moore Smith is undoubtedly right as to the general meaning of the passage. My note, which is badly expressed, was not intended to imply that the whole speech was meaningless, but that, so far as I could understand, Barnes was using the terms employed in a somewhat loose and vague manner. It may be noted that in Sir T. Elyot's *Gouernour* (ed. Croft, ii, 371) there is a passage not unlike this: 'the soule is of thre partes: the one, wherin is the powar or efficacie of growinge, which is also in herbes and trees as well as in man, and that parte is called

vegetatife. An other parte, wherin man doth participate with all other thynges lyuynge, whiche is called sensitife...The thirde parte of the soule is named the parte intellectuall or of understandynge, whiche is of all the other mooste noble, as whereby man is mooste lyke unto god.' Allusions to the doctrine are, however, far from uncommon.

I subjoin a few additional notes:

Page x. An earlier English version of the Alexander legend is to be found in *The Bee hive of the Romishe Church...Translated out of Dutch into Englishe by George Gilpin the Elder*, 1579, fol. 307—308. The duration of the contract was for '1108' (qy. read '11 & 8'?). The devil explains later that 'eleuen & eight did signifie eleuen yeares and eight dayes, and not nineteene yeares.'

1497 '*Mount Dragon*' is also mentioned in Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (Works, ed. Grosart, iii, 240).

1535 *Collman-hedge*: 'the Hedge (Rogues Hall),' mentioned by S. Rowlands in *Doctor Merrie-man*, 1609, sig. A 2^v, is probably the same place. It is also mentioned in Cocke Lorelles Bote; see Stevens' note on 'galled goose of Winchester' in *Tr. and Cres.* v, x (xi), 55.

1575 Possibly '*Mega Court*' may be the person alluded to by Nashe in *Strange Newes*, sig. B 4^v, 'In their absence, this be deliuered to *Megge Curtis* in Shorditch, to stop mustard pots with.'

1592 *Iannes De fisticanckers*: Professor Bang points out a similar name in J. Taylor's *Armado, or Nauye, of 103. Ships*, 1627, sig. B 1. 'The Lord-Ship...was vnder the Commaunde of the Noble *Don Diego de fisty Cankoe-muskcod*, who was Admirall or high *Adellantado* of the whole fleete.' In the *Workes* of 1630 the name appears as '*Don Diego de fifty Cankcemuscod*.' There seems here to be an allusion to the Don Diego whose unsavoury exploit in St Paul's is frequently mentioned. (Cf. Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, iv, iv.)

3074-5 The lines are to be found in E. Tabourot's *Bigarrures du Seigneur Des Accordz*, 1583, fol. 100, where they are attributed to the devil when carrying saint 'Antible' to Rome on his shoulders.

R. B. M^cKERROW.]

REVIEWS.

Shakespearean Tragedy. Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth. By A. C. BRADLEY. Second Edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1905. 8vo. xii + 498 pp.

To say that the ideal interpreter of Shakspeare must have something, and a good deal, of the 'myriad-mind' himself, may be a truism. Yet anyone who has read at all widely in the speculative Shakspeare-criticism of the past must have felt how much of its insufficiency (where it was insufficient) arose from the speculators having been, in the less fortunate sense of the term, too single-minded. It is not merely that one brain can now hardly master the enormous literature of the subject; for some of the most illuminating work has been done by men who, like Ten Brink, simply declined to sift these accumulations. The problem lies in the enormous yet elusive complexity of the fundamental material—the Shakspearean *fact* itself, the literary datum from which our apprehension of the mind of Shakspeare must in the last resort be won. A measure of this complexity is furnished by the appearance, after 150 years of keen discussion, of a volume, like the present, containing, among a vast variety of other things, not a few fresh versions merely of what happens in the four greatest and most famous of his plays. As to the mysterious background of personality, out of which these wonderful happenings proceed, we are still further from agreement. The interpretation of Shakspeare has been proverbially a touchstone for men and methods. The giants of criticism have exposed their limitations there as clearly as their strength; in spite of the immense services of Goethe, Lessing, Coleridge, it is precisely in some of their dicta upon Shakspeare that we most easily recognise, and have most need to apply, their personal equations. Shakspeare is full of pitfalls alike for the poet who uses nothing but his imaginative intuition, for the 'realist' who uses nothing but his practical sagacity, and for the philosophic interpreter who uses only his synthetic and constructive intellect. What makes the problem so fascinating and so difficult is that each of these methods is up to a certain point so legitimate and so successful. But they have to be coordinated, and there it is that we want the 'myriad-mind.' Those who have most capably explored the heights and depths of Shakspeare's imaginative world have rarely been qualified to do justice to the

elements of speculation, of ideas, and beliefs, with which it is everywhere beset; while the philosophic interpreter has been too apt to isolate these elements from their imaginative context and weave them together into suspiciously symmetrical and coherent 'moral systems.' And the cautious and critical scrutiny of evidence has not on the whole been characteristic of these daring explorers and constructors in either field.

To say that Prof. Bradley's criticism seems to combine in a rare degree all these three types of faculty and of method may sound like journalistic hyperbole, but is merely an attempt to define and explain the impression which it will we think produce upon any open mind at all inured to the Shakspearean controversies of the past. And the combination has proved singularly fruitful. In several quite distinct domains he has either clarified old discussions or made traditional dogmas insecure, or at least, driven home ideas, not in themselves unfamiliar, with fresh cogency and insight. Roughly, these domains correspond to the three divisions of the book. The opening lectures, though dealing with conceptions which date from the very beginnings of dramatic criticism, expound 'the substance of Shakspearean tragedy' and the outlines of Shakspearean art, in a very suggestive as well as luminous way. Then, in the six following lectures, the dramatic theorist puts his abstract erudition by, lays his mind to Shakspeare's, and compels us to re-think with him these four universally familiar yet inexhaustible creations. Finally, in an appendix of some thirty Notes, he investigates a number of special points mainly in the outward economy of the four plays—time-reckoning, stage-arrangements, textual curtailments, interpolations, reminiscences, tests of style and metre. We shall offer some comments under each of these three heads.

1. Professor Bradley approaches Shakspearean tragedy with a bent rather philosophical than historical. He occasionally makes effective use of contemporary plays, as in illustrating the partial invisibility of the Ghost in *Hamlet* from Heywood's Ghost of Agamemnon. But his criticism has its roots rather in Aristotle than in the Elizabethans; it represents, we should say, the *Poetics* corrected with extreme nicety for the latitude of Shakspeare, rather than results independently built up from a close study of the growth of Elizabethan art. Thus his use of 'accident' in tragedy appears as an 'additional factor' to the 'characteristic actions' which form the substance of the tragic plots: a more evolutionary handling would rather have presented it as a transformed survival from a cruder technique. Tragedy as a dramatic *genre*, again, is perhaps credited with a securer and better defined position than it had yet won in Shakspeare's early days. Certainly, some of the points in which *Richard III* and *Richard II* differ from *Macbeth* or *Hamlet* are due not so much to the immaturity of Shakspeare's tragic ideal, or of his tragic power, as to the traditional technique, from which till *Henry V* he never emerged, of the native English 'History.' The classically minded Meres, who heard honey-tongued Ovid in the mellifluous Shakspeare, might recognise only 'tragedies' and 'comedies'

among his excellent performances; but he himself is more likely to have agreed in the matter with his fellow-actors Heming and Condell whose threefold disposition of the Folio is well known. That the distinction is by no means irrelevant to the discussion of Shakspearean tragedy may be seen from a footnote (p. 22) where Prof. Bradley reluctantly 'confesses' that Richard II is 'perhaps an exception' to the normal 'greatness' of Shakspeare's tragic heroes. But Shakspeare was still working under the 'old law' of the 'History,' which permitted him to make a king, whom tradition presented as a weakling, pathetic and exquisite, to give him a presence like a 'sweet rose,' and a speech like filigree-work in ivory; but not to put an Antony or a Coriolanus in his place.

Deeper matters are dealt with towards the close of this first lecture, where Prof. Bradley seeks to define the character of 'the ultimate power in Shakspeare's tragic world.' It is an old problem, and one which no one who has felt the mind of Shakspeare can easily put by. Yet it owes much of its apparent urgency to the example of the Greek dramatists, with their profound consciousness of unseen mysterious divine control, a consciousness which but fitfully crossed the secular mind of the normal Elizabethan playwright, as he toiled for the lean favours of his earthly providence, Philip Henslowé or another. Even here we are not convinced that Prof. Bradley is not seeking definite solutions for problems which admit of none. But his analysis is conducted with a union of imaginative reach and cautious scrutiny that at least cuts the ground from some old dogmatisms. Most current accounts of Shakspeare's tragic world are governed by one of two ideas: a 'moral order' or a blind, indifferent, or malignant fate. 'These accounts isolate and exaggerate single aspects, either the aspect of action or that of suffering; either the close and unbroken connexion of character, will, deed, and catastrophe, which, taken alone, shows the individual simply as sinning against, or failing to conform to, the moral order and drawing his just doom on his own head; or else that pressure of outward forces, that sway of accident, and those blind and agonised struggles, which, taken alone, show him as the mere victim of some power which cares neither for his sins nor for his pain. Such views contradict one another, and no third view can unite them; but the several aspects from whose isolation and exaggeration they spring are both present in the fact, and a view which would be true to the fact and to the whole of our imaginative experience must in some way combine these aspects.'

This is perhaps only to say that Shakspearean 'fact' is not less equivocal in its metaphysical suggestions than the facts of life, whose image it shows; its different aspects begetting, in more summary minds, one or other of the same dogmatic alternatives, and, in more subtle or comprehensive ones, the same demand for a *tertium quid*. What gives Prof. Bradley's discussion its chief value and interest is his peculiarly vital grasp of the contradiction latent in all properly tragic emotion, where the sense that suffering and death are both real and greatly matter, and the sense that they are somehow transcended and sub-

limited, are equally involved. The notion that the horrible waste of goodness involved in the death of Cordelia or of Desdemona, nay of Othello, or of Hamlet, has in any strict sense compensation, is as fatal to tragedy, if it be made distinct and explicit, as the notion that these deaths were, in any sense at all, deserved. Yet we view this ruin with a sense of exaltation which entirely masters the non-tragic 'repulsion' caused, as Aristotle said, by the sufferings of innocence, and is quite inadequately described even by the tragic 'purification' itself. No one has analysed this exaltation more keenly than Professor Bradley, or distinguished more subtly its varying sources and complexions, in the several tragedies. It is just when he is pursuing these fluctuations and disparities that he seems to come so near to Shakspeare. Nowhere nearer, perhaps, in substance, though expressed in phrases of another school, than in his fine comment upon the climax of *Othello*, when, as the Moor speaks those last words, a 'triumphant scorn for the fetters of the flesh and the littleness of the lives that must survive him sweeps our grief away, and...the most painful of all tragedies leaves us for the moment free from pain, and exulting in the power of "love and man's unconquerable mind."'

2. It is only possible to touch upon a few points in the detailed examination of the four tragedies, which occupies the bulk of the book. Original suggestions are, as has been said, not wanting; but on the whole, as was to be expected, Mr Bradley's fresh interpretations of character and plot serve chiefly to throw the weight of a highly trained and perfectly independent judgment in the scale of views already at least in outline entertained. Yet the class of views which he thus enforces are not exactly, as a rule, the *landläufige*, current doctrine; they are apt to make uncomfortable demands upon the plain reader's imagination, and they do not always conform to his moral sense. Prof. Bradley is one of those who escape the illusions of the lower ethics because they are so completely penetrated and possessed by the higher. Critics preoccupied with the study of Shakspeare's art are apt to estimate his characters only in terms of their rank as artistic creations. Prof. Bradley's criticism in reality owes much of its technical mastery to his quick human sympathy with them. He treats them as men and women, with as lively a feeling for personal values as for plot-functions; and their place in his 'valued file' is determined by a large and singularly imaginative apprehension, rather Greek than Hebraic, of good. The colossal power of Richard for instance, lifts him in the scale, though it facilitated his crimes. For good, in this comprehensive sense, Prof. Bradley's instinct is infallible, and the characters which possess it, under whatever form, be it the good of Desdemona's fateful innocence, or of Iago's sinister 'stagecraft,' or of Hamlet's frustrated 'infirmity,' call out all the strength and delicacy of his critical perception. In this very case of Hamlet's character, with its numerous coigns of apparent vantage both for sentimental worship and for cynical defamation, the critic does justice to his 'noble mind' as well as to his 'godlike reason' without ignoring one harsh or repellent trait. His view most nearly resembles

that of Kuno Fischer, and, as that thinker is nowhere mentioned, may be concluded to have the independent support of two of the most penetrating of recent Shakspeareans. The chief error in the Hamlet-criticism of the nineteenth century has been, as Fischer says, to start from the person of the hero and thence to interpret the course of action. Prof. Bradley has, like Fischer, taken the opposite course, finding the root of Hamlet's 'failure' not in any fundamental disability of his, whether the flowerlike 'frailty' of Goethe, the 'pessimism' of Paulsen, the 'over-reflectiveness' of Coleridge, or the sheer 'laziness' of Loening, but in the paralysing prostration of spirit wrought by his mother's fall. The key to the 'contradictions' which have made some critics declare Hamlet an irrational equation (Schlegel), or a deliberate mystification, or an artistic abortion (Rümelin), is surely to be found in the recognition that his history is as complex as his nature, and that moods and impulses natural to three sharply-sundered phases of his life contend and fluctuate and interchange in the mind of the Hamlet we see. Perhaps the most valuable single point in Prof. Bradley's discussion is the criticism, or limitation, of the 'over-reflectiveness' theory, which, ever since Coleridge borrowed (or stole) it from Schlegel, has on the whole coloured the English popular notion of Hamlet more definitely than any other. It is suggestively hinted that Hamlet, the irresolute genius, is a reflection of Coleridge, as Hamlet the beautiful but nerveless victim of a task too hard, reflects Werther¹.

We may touch more briefly upon a case in which Prof. Bradley's habitual keenness of eye for the complexities of Shakspearean character appears to us for once at fault. His account of the 'Witches' in *Macbeth* is full of acute points, but he surely reduces them to too simple terms. That they neither impose upon Macbeth a destiny which he cannot evade, nor on the other hand merely symbolise his inward temptation, is assuredly true. They are neither 'goddesses' nor 'fates.' But does it fit all the facts to regard them as Witches pure and simple, 'old women, poor and ragged, skinny and hideous, &c.,' however 'rehandled' and 'heightened'? Shakspeare read in Holinshed, as Mr Bradley allows, that the 'women' who met Macbeth '*were according to the common opinion, eyther the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) y^e Goddesses of destinee, or else some Nymphes or Feiries.*' But he 'did not use this idea. He used nothing but the phrase "*weird sisters.*"' The phrase he uses is '*the weird sisters*'; and one is forced to ask, why, with Holinshed's explanation before him, did he use it if the idea was so completely irrelevant to his purpose? Why did he make them, not a mere detachment of three out of the great army of Witches, as the first stage

¹ One regrets to find that a view hardly less one-sided than this, and of the same type, can still be put forward by the occupant of an English University Chair. Prof. Churton Collins, in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1905, assimilates Hamlet to the Werthers of our own time, repudiating only the one touch in Goethe's description which has essential truth, the *höchst moralisches Wesen*.—Goethe subsequently, as is well known, in the Eckermann days, made light of his Hamlet criticism. 'Ich habe in meinem Wilhelm Meister an [Shakspeare] herumgetupft; allein das will nicht viel heissen,' *Gespräche*, I, 159.

direction might suggest, but a mysterious trio—'posters of the sea and land,' unlike all the inhabitants of the earth, having 'more in them than mortal knowledge,' and in some quite peculiar way representing 'fate' and dispensing 'metaphysical aid'—if he puts that 'common opinion' so completely by? Shakspeare was more likely, one surmises, to find room for that 'common opinion' in the composite harmony of his imaginative creation, just as he found room for several strands of fairy lore of the most varied provenance, classic, mediaeval, Germanic, in the radiant and seamless woof of his Faery world.

3. Space fails for more than the briefest notice of the discussions in the appendices, of text and style, the calculation of dramatic time, and other matters frequently disdained by 'higher critics' of Shakspeare. No one who has expounded the harmonies of Shakspeare so impressively, has shown so keen an eye for his accidents; for the element of chance in his plots, the element of fluctuating mood, of irrational expression, in his style. Mere mechanical reminiscence has certainly coloured Shakspeare's writing—an idea capable of still wider application than Mr Bradley has yet given it. Thus he points out a number of echoes of *Othello* in *Lear*; of *Lear* in *Timon*. He discusses the very difficult time-reckoning in *Othello* and in *Hamlet*; the latter involving several points not hitherto, to our knowledge, observed. The book is singularly free from inaccuracies, and some oversights that appeared in the first edition have now been removed. One apparent survivor may be found in the statement that Shakspeare's boys, with two exceptions—William in the *Merry Wives*, and the page before whom Falstaff walked 'like a sow that hath overwhelmed all her litter but one'—all occur in 'tragic or semi-tragic dramas.' For what of the 'brisk juvenal' Moth? We trust that Mr Bradley will regard the omission as a debt which he has to pay; and that Moth, with William and the page, and the whole vast Comic company whom they and their likes attend or embarrass, will later on receive the meed of a second volume of interpretative comment as penetrating and as luminous as this.

C. H. HERFORD.

A Middle English Reader. Edited by OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905. 8vo. cxix + 475 pp.

Professor Oliver Emerson's book on *The English Language* is so well known that his latest contribution to our knowledge of Middle English will be welcomed by many students in this country. *A Middle English Reader* will usefully supplement the valuable *Specimens* of the late Dr Morris and Professor Skeat, but those standard works will not be rendered obsolete by this new American *Reader*.

The Introduction, dealing with the dialects of Middle English, follows the fashion of modern philology in taking care of the sounds and letting the sense take care of itself. In other words, Mr Emerson traces the evolution of the phonology with great elaborateness, but

pays much less attention to the historical development of the meanings and uses of words. He devotes more than 50 pages to phonology, and 40 to Inflections. He ignores Syntax altogether in the Grammatical Introduction, but has some scattered remarks upon it in the notes. The extracts chosen in some cases coincide with those in 'Morris and Skeat,' but the editor has evidently exercised independent judgment in making typical selections.

In one respect his example might be followed in a new edition of the Clarendon Press volumes: he keeps each dialect to itself. Thus we have first 125 pages of writings exclusively in the Midland dialect, the form from which our modern English is mainly descended. Next come 50 pages of examples of the Northern dialect; then nearly 50 pages of specimens of the Southern dialect, including Kentish; and finally about 25 pages of the dialect of London: in all, 246 pages of miscellaneous Middle English texts. Sixty-four pages of notes follow, and then a very full Glossary (of 160 pages or so) gives the student much to be thankful for. The text is accurately printed (by Mr Horace Hart, Oxford), and the question only remains: is there anything to grumble at?

Well, there is the price for one thing. Both the Clarendon Press *Specimens* and this new *Reader* cost more than many students in University Colleges and the Higher Classes of Schools should have to pay for their text-book of selections from the early literature of England. There is a wide opening for the enterprising publisher who will put a good volume of Middle English Selections on the market at about 3s. 6d. With short Introductions, a summary of dialectic characteristics, and a complete Glossary, such a book for Class use would be sure of a warm welcome from many teachers and students of English. This then is one fault—not Mr Emerson's, of course. Another is that the Glossary, good though it is, is not good enough. The meanings given are too general, and sometimes too diverse, for the student's guidance. The cross-references need to be considerably increased. There are some positive blunders to be corrected. Still, the editorial work is on the whole well done, and, to show that these adverse comments are not made without fair testing, the following marginalia on the Glossary are appended for the use of students who may attempt to work through the present edition of the book.

P. 321: *æstēde* Mr Emerson prints as one word; Madden (whose text Mr Emerson follows) prints *ende* as a separate word. Which is correct? P. 326: *arrȳsērs*, 234, 12, in the sense of 'rebels' apparently, is not in the Glossary. P. 328: *awēlden* in the passage quoted cannot mean 'restrain'; it may mean 'constrain,' or 'control.' Under *bāld* should be given a reference to 129, 27 (where it is misprinted *bā* by the dropping of two letters). P. 330: *bedēne*, 116, 5, should be given as a cross-reference to *bidēne*. P. 333: query, does not *byzēode* (see under *bigōn*) mean 'persuaded,' in 222, 12? The senses given in the Glossary are inapplicable. P. 338: *borh* in the passage referred to, 195, 31, seems to mean 'payment' rather than 'security'; it is a sort of brutal jest, 'give her money down.' On this page a cross-reference

of *borrȝhen*, 10, 19, to *bergen* is lacking; and under *bōwen* should be 'see *būzen* also,' for it is questionable if *būhen*, 193, 26, given under *būzen*, should not be under *bōwen*, as it means 'be obedient to.' On this page (340) query 'broach' as the special meaning of *brouch*, and query O. E. *brȳche* under *brȳche*. P. 349: under *dai* a reference to *euch deis dei*, 192, 15, should be given, and the form *deis* should be explained; does it mean 'day's day,' or 'dais day,' or is the student to conjecture that it may be 'dies dei'? What the laborious undergraduate might make of it we cannot say. On p. 350 the same undergraduate would find it helpful to have *dēh* given (197, 1) with a reference to *dugen*. *dēdbōte* is less 'atonement' (in the ecclesiastical sense) than 'restitution.' *dēf*, see *dūven*, should be entered. P. 355: *dūde*, 207, 31, in a somewhat difficult phrase ('ne dūde hom noȝt,' which Morris and Skeat explain 'did them nought, no harm'), is not noted. And query is not *ēche*, which Mr Emerson gives only as an adjective, used substantively in 191, 22: 'into þē ēche of heovene'? P. 359: the forms *eizē*, *eie*, need cross-reference; and on p. 361 the verb-form *fēld*, 68, 19, might have a reference to *folden*. On this page the word *fēle*, 'true, dear, good,' 183, 28, is intelligible, but Layamon wrote, or at least Madden printed, *sele* (long *s*), which means much the same thing but is a totally different word. P. 367: there is something wrong with *forwerþen*, at least the text has *forrwerppen* at 9, 23. In connection with the pronoun *he* on p. 376 we should like to know from Mr Emerson what he makes of the form *þeo* on 191, 25, 26; 192, 5 and 196, 5? It seems to mean 'they,' but the Glossary records no such form as a pronoun, though under *ðō* we get *þeo*, 201, 3, as the adverb. P. 379: *hēryng* means 'hearing,' 102, 10, but seems to mean 'praise' in 102, 20. These passages are not noted in the Glossary. P. 393: under *lit*, 'little,' the Sth. *lūt*, 'few,' 198, 30, is not given. P. 402: the word *murrē*, 231, 25, is not in the Glossary. P. 404: *ā neouste*, 185, 9, is explained to mean 'next'; but the sense seems rather to be 'quickly,' as though some confusion existed with a form derived from *on ofost*. P. 407: the Glossary has *ōkrye*, but the text *okyre*. A cross-reference, 'ōni, see *āni*,' might be given. P. 414: *qualle*; the Glossary explains 'O. F. *quaille*: quail, 151, 27.' This is 'very like a whale'! The text says:

þe pride dai, mersuine and qualle,
And oþer grēte fises alle, etc.

P. 416: under *rēden* is *rēade* (e Sth.), 193, 13, where the text has *tōrēade*, which is not given in the Glossary. P. 420: the use of *sake*, at 230, 8, apparently in the sense of 'strife' (or of 'guilt'?) is not given. P. 440: query, does *tok*, 211, 7, mean 'rebuked'? The Glossary gives neither a reference nor an explanation. P. 442: *treowe*, 226, 10, does not appear here. P. 444: under *þegȝre*, 'their,' among the variant forms should be given apparently the form *þār*, 156, 24, meaning 'of those'? On p. 447 Mr Emerson goes one better even than the 'deep-sea quail': he explains *þruh*, 197, 1, as a Southern form of *þurh*, 'through,' 'on account of.' The passage is: 'ant dōn hire bodi þērin in stanene

pruh hēhliche,' 'and put her body therein in a stone *coffin* honourably'! *pruh*, 'a coffin,' is not a very rare word. P. 449: *unēde* as an adjective is glossed, but the Kentish example is possibly adverbial, 215, 1, and at 225, 27 there can be no doubt of the adverb. The word *unprenable* occurs once, and the student is given three meanings: 'impregnable,' 'improper,' 'wrong.' Are these synonyms? P. 452: *vīs* is explained 'face,' but in 121, 14 seems to mean 'view.' P. 454: under which word will the student find the unglossed form *wār*, 160, 20, and what does it mean? Does *wērȳ* mean 'curse' in 161, 9? These are questions that industrious youth will ask in vain of this Glossary. P. 455: query, what does *wēnan* mean in 189, 6, 'swa dēð ælc witer mon þā nēode cumeð wēnan' ('on whom need cometh')? P. 460: the Glossary does not really help one to understand the expression *wyte grocching* in 233, 26. Is it 'know to have a grudge,' or 'cherish a grudge against'? P. 462: *wōt* should have a cross-reference to *witen*, and *me wōt* ('one knows'), 210, 19, should be glossed. P. 464: *wurðes*, 195, 7, means 'deserts,' not 'dignities,' as the Glossary would imply. P. 465: under *zēlden*, 'recompense,' 'yield,' is glossed *yēaldeþ*, 219, 1, which seems rather to mean 'grows old' (*ēlden*). If so, this is a very serious mistake of the Glossographer. *zōten* under *zēten* is wrongly parsed *pp*. It is *pt. pl*. The general sense 'give' only translates *zeven*, though in 195, 3, 'ne zeve ich for inc nowðer,' it plainly means 'care,' as often. P. 466: query *yēalden*, as above noted.

This list is very incomplete, but if it leads to the improvement of a useful book it will serve the turn.

H. LITTLEDALE.

Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama from Lyly to Shirley (1580-1642).

With Introduction and Notes by W. H. WILLIAMS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. viii + 576 pp.

Worke for Cutlers Or A Merry Dialogue betweene Sword, Rapier and Dagger. Edited by A. F. SIEVEKING. London: C. J. Clay, 1904. 92 pp.

A New Way to Pay Old Debts. By PH. MASSINGER. Edited by G. STRONACH. (*Temple Dramatists.*) London: Dent, 1904. xii + 128 pp.

Old Fortunatus. By TH. DEKKER. Edited by O. SMEATON. (Same Series.) 1904. xvi + 142 pp.

The Arraignment of Paris. By GEORGE PEELE. Edited by O. SMEATON. (Same Series.) 1905. xvi + 83 pp.

The Return from Parnassus. Edited by O. SMEATON. (Same Series.) 1905. xxxii + 136 pp.

The Devil's Charter. By BARNABE BARNES. Edited by R. B. McKERROW.

- (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, VI.) Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1904. xxiii + 144 pp.
- Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker.* Von E. KOEPEL. (Same Series, IX.) 1905. xi + 103 pp.
- The Swisser.* Par ARTHUR WILSON. Publié d'après un manuscrit inédit, par A. FEUILLERAT. Paris: Fischbacher, 1904. cxxii + 112 pp.
- The White Devil and The Duchess of Malfy.* By JOHN WEBSTER. Edited by M. W. SAMPSON. (*Belles-Lettres Series*, Section III.) Boston: Heath, 1904. xlv + 422 pp.
- Eastward Hoe and The Alchemist.* By BEN JONSON. Edited by F. E. SCHELLING. (Same Series.) 1904. xxxii + 408 pp.
- Bussy D'Ambois and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.* By GEORGE CHAPMAN. Edited by F. S. BOAS. (Same Series.) 1905. xlvi + 332 pp.
- Studies in Jonson's Comedy.* By ELIZABETH WOODBRIDGE. (*Yale Studies in English*, v.) Boston: Lamson and Wolffe, 1898. 103 pp.
- Bartholomew Fair.* By BEN JONSON. Edited by C. S. ALDEN. (Same Series, XXV.) New York: Holt, 1904. xxxiii + 236 pp.
- Poetaster.* By BEN JONSON. Edited by H. S. MALLORY. (Same Series, XXVII.) 1905. ciii + 280 pp.
- The Staple of News.* By BEN JONSON. Edited by DE WINTER. (Same Series, XXVIII.) 1905. lix + 273 pp.
- The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage.* By E. N. S. THOMPSON. (Same Series, XX.) 1903. 275 pp.

Mr A. W. Pollard's admirable selection of *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes* first appeared in 1890, and a fourth and revised edition was published in 1904. We believe that the original intention was to illustrate the whole of the Elizabethan drama in a similar manner, but the difficulty of dealing with the later developments by means of selections proved so great that the plan was for the time allowed to drop. The volume of *Specimens* recently compiled by Professor Williams at once challenges, and suffers from, a comparison with its predecessor. None of the persons responsible for its publication appear to have realised the nature and the magnitude of the difficulties in the way, and we must confess to not understanding what demand it is expected to meet. From Mr Pollard's volume the student can obtain a very fair knowledge of the nature and history of the religious and didactic drama of England. No such knowledge of the later drama can be gained from the isolated scenes printed in the present work. A familiarity with the styles of certain writers may be gained and a few biographical facts may be learnt, but the student is likely to remain wholly ignorant not only of Elizabethan dramatic art and its historical development but even of what an Elizabethan play, as a play, is like.

There is, moreover, a serious gap between Mr Pollard's work, which ends with John Heywood and Bale, and Professor Williams' which begins with Lyly. Though ill planned, however, the work has been executed with care and judgment. In all ninety-three specimens are given, illustrating twenty-four playwrights. Extracts contained in the original 'Lamb's Specimens' are avoided, though several appear which are to be found in Professor Gollancz' edition. Texts have been taken from the Clarendon Press editions in the cases of Kyd and Lyly, otherwise from the originals; but they appear to have been modernised throughout. The arrangement is in some cases open to criticism. *Selimus* and *George-a-Green* both appear under Greene, though the editor admits that in neither case is there much ground for the attribution. Some of the opinions advanced are likely to cause surprise. Thus Professor Williams thinks Chapman's diction 'lucid,' and holds that much of that author's alleged obscurity 'is due to the fact that he has never been properly edited.' There is undoubtedly some truth in the remark, but we fancy that Mr Boas, the only scholar who has ever attempted the task, will bear us out when we suggest that no amount of editing can ever render lucid the tortuous inconsequence of Chapman's mental processes.

We are indebted to Mr Sieveking for an edition of the Cambridge show entitled *Work for Cutlers*, originally printed in 1615. The amiable modesty with which he puts forward his 'daring opinion' that the author of this trifle was Thomas Heywood must needs disarm serious criticism; but, while admiring the ingenuity of the argument, we cannot pretend to be convinced of the justice of the attribution. The Master of Peterhouse contributes a politely sceptical 'note' by way of introduction. We have, by the way, been unable to discover on what principle the 'Glossarial Epilogue' is arranged. The entries are not alphabetical, nor do they follow the order of the text.

The 'Temple Dramatists' series has in the past contained good work, and been connected with the names of reputable scholars. This is the only consideration which induces us to notice the following volumes, in which the editorial work bears every mark of carelessness and ignorance. A few instances from each play must suffice to bear out this general censure. Thus Mr Stronach, in his introduction to the *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, informs us that the *Virgin Martyr* was Massinger's 'first unaided effort,' though it is well known to have been a joint composition with Dekker, and bore, when published in 1622, the names of both authors upon the title-page. Again in enumerating the chief plays of his author, he mentions both the *Fair Penitent* and the *Fatal Dowry*, though the former is nothing but a *rifacimento* of the latter made by Rowe in 1703. The Globe is said to have been 'the scene of all Shakespeare's successes' in spite of the fact that it was not built till 1598. On the same level of scholarship are the plays edited by Mr Smeaton. In the introduction to *Old Fortunatus* a Dekker-Marlowe collaboration in 1588 is treated as an established fact. As evidence of the popularity of the play are cited editions of 1603, 1622 and 1625—

these were of course editions of the chapbook. In the notes we read that Lyly wrote a pamphlet called *Crack me this Nut* and that 'There was a scarce black-letter pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot* published early in Elizabeth's reign.' One would hardly gather that both belong to the famous Martin Mar-prelate controversy. This was in 1589-90, which is anything but early in Elizabeth's reign, and Lyly's authorship of either is improbable. The text is a mere reprint of the 'Mermaid' edition, and an obvious misprint is retained in the fifth line, though it is quoted correctly in the notes. The introduction to the *Arraignement of Paris* supplies us with the astonishing statement that 'To Peele belongs the honour of first employing blank verse,' although Surrey's *Fourth Aeneid* appeared c. 1548, *Gorboduc* in 1565, and the *Arraignement* not till 1584. *Jack Straw* is classed among Peele's works, though the ascription is mere conjecture; the same applies to the *Wisdom of Dr Dodypoll*. The edition of Peele's works published in 1828 is ascribed to one Robert Dyce; that by Bullen in 1888, though the standard one, is silently ignored. The edition of the *Return from Parnassus* is planned on a more ambitious scale and offers a correspondingly larger crop of absurdities. The text is supposed to be modernised, but obsolete spellings occur on almost every page, and no consistent attempt has been made to correct the errors of the quarto from the readings of the ms. The quotations in the notes are constantly at variance with the text, and the references constantly wrong. For instance: 'II. ii. 66. *Mossy barbarians* = some critics suggest, "most like barbarians."' This is not very lucid; the reference, moreover, should be II. i. 66, and 'Most like barbarians' is the reading of the text. In illustration of the word *stales* a passage is quoted from the *Tempest*. The words in the two cases are quite distinct and the meaning suggested applies to neither. The noun in the *Tempest* means a decoy; the verb, as applied to a horse in the *Pilgrimage*, means something else. Lastly an editor who calls Jonson's father a bricklayer and Gabriel Harvey a 'Marprelate Pamphleteer,' and who thinks that to 'untruss' means to 'gird up your loins,' must have a quite notable ignorance of Elizabethan biography, literature and language. We have far from exhausted the curiosities which these volumes present, but have probably said enough to justify our opinion of the editors' qualifications.

Mr McKerrow deserves the thanks of students for his careful work upon Barnes' strange and hitherto inaccessible play, *The Devil's Charter*. He also has a claim on our gratitude on two other scores beyond the immediate subject in hand. He has, namely, supplied for the first time a minute and scholarly exposition of a complicated bibliographical problem. This is the determination of readings according to correction by formes. The theory, which is of great importance in textual criticism, is one of which few editors appear ever to have heard. That different copies of the same edition of an Elizabethan work often vary in their readings, is now indeed more or less of a commonplace, but most editors are content to speak of one copy as belonging to an earlier or later state than another. This has often been shown to be illegitimate, and

some have maintained that the unit of comparison is not the copy but the sheet; while others have gone further and realised that the ultimate unit is the forme. Mr McKerrow has applied this theory to a play, no two of the four extant copies of which agree throughout. The other point of wider interest in his work is the identification of Barnes' demonological sources, which will, no doubt, be found to have been utilised by other writers too. The play is a difficult one, the text being very corrupt, and in spite of the labour bestowed on the notes several points remain obscure. It should be said that the alleged marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Don Gasparo rests on no historical evidence.

Professor Koeppel's volume of *Studien* appears to consist of gleanings from a scholar's notebook. He takes a number of Elizabethan dramatists and points out in each passages, situations, and motives, which, he conceives, are in some measure parallel to others in Shakespeare. It is an amusing game when it is played, as Professor Koeppel plays it, with learning and judgment, and we gather from his preface that he does not take himself or his results too seriously. If we are bound to confess that we are not always impressed with the appositeness of the supposed parallels, we should hasten to add that the volume contains many fruits of wide and curious reading beyond the strict limits suggested by the title. The authors do not appear to have been chosen according to any particular plan, and, since we miss so notorious a 'Shakespearian' and unblushing a plagiarist as Webster, we conclude that others have been reserved for discussion upon some future occasion.

Arthur Wilson's play, *The Swisser*, the autograph MS. of which was recently acquired by the British Museum, has not had long to wait before finding a competent editor. M. Feuillerat has discharged his task with the loving care of the true scholar. To his reprint of the MS. he has prefixed an elaborate study of Wilson's life and work, the former portion of which, consisting as it does largely of the author's miscellaneous autobiographical gossip, gains not a little from being written in the classical language of the *mémoires*. We are genuinely grateful for the entertainment offered, and have only one criticism to make. We remain unconvinced of any such topical intention in Wilson's play as his editor would see, and we fancy that the same excess of ingenuity may be found in a tendency to discover psychological significance in biographical trivialities. The fault belongs to the method, which is distinctively French, and readers will discount it according to their individual tastes. There are one or two slight errors, such as 1613 in place of 1612 as the date of Prince Henry's death. The editor has followed the MS. reasonably closely, though he has not attained that absolute fidelity which he perhaps hoped for. We have not, however, noticed any errors of consequence: the impossible 'Parcée' for the correct 'Parcæ' of the MS. is the most serious. The extraordinary spelling 'tougne,' which occurs five times, is Wilson's vagary. The question of capitalisation is often difficult in the case of a MS. but the editor's practice shows rather unnecessary licence on the point. Although Wilson's language is not difficult, the notes might with advantage have been somewhat fuller.

In spite of the labours of Dyce few Elizabethans stand more in need of editorial attention than Webster. It is all the more a matter for congratulation that his two great tragedies should have fallen to the care of so able and devoted a scholar as Professor Sampson. For the first time we have a really critical text and something like adequate commentary. It is to these sections of the work, however, that we must look for the editor's success. The introduction, though it presents in admirable form what there is to say on the subject of Webster's life and work, adds little to our previous knowledge. Webster the man remains as indistinct a shadow as ever, and the riddles of his sources remain unsolved. In the case of the *White Devil*, while the historical facts are common knowledge, Webster's immediate authority is undiscovered. In that of the *Duchess*, while the literary ancestry can be clearly traced back as far as Bandello, the events he recorded have left no trace in history. It is, however, possible to supply the name of the lady who is made to play the part of heroine. She was Giovanna, daughter of Arrigo, a bastard of the house of Aragon, and wife of Alfonso Piccolomini, whom his uncle, Pius II, created Duke of Amalfi. We have sometimes thought that the story may have originated in a confusion, and that though Bandello's Malfi is undoubtedly Amalfi, the basis of the legend should perhaps be sought in the annals of the small principality of Melfi. The astonishing statement that Webster 'draws his traitors and liars and adulterers unscathingly' is presumably due to a misprint.

Professor Schelling, though he has had less opportunity for originality, has also produced a useful volume. The choice of a play of composite authorship is to be explained by the fact that Jonson will figure again in subsequent volumes of the series. *Eastward Hoe* has, of course, been accessible in the editions of Marston by Halliwell (1856, old spelling) and Bullen (1887, modernised) but there remained plenty of scope for editorial work. Of the *Alchemist* numerous editions are available. In the case of this play the editor remarks that 'Jonson's punctuation, as well as his spelling and marking of intended elision, has been preserved.' We notice, however, that the use of capitals and italics and the distinction between *u* and *v* have been, as elsewhere, at least partially, modernised.

Professor Boas had a task and an opportunity even greater than the editor of Webster and he has not failed in them. No serious attempt has ever before been made towards editing any plays of Chapman. A careful collation of previous editions and a sparing use of conjectural arrangement with regard to directions and readings, has now done a good deal towards reducing the two plays selected to intelligible order, while the labour ungrudgingly bestowed upon the notes does yet more to illuminate the strange vagaries of Chapman's mind. The editor has also rendered valuable service in the matter of sources, alike in tracing the *Revenge*, as also the *Byron* plays, to Grimestone's *General Inventory of the History of France*, and in registering minor debts to Epictetus and Seneca.

The preoccupation of the students of Yale University with the comedies of Ben Jonson began as long ago as 1898, with Dr Elizabeth Woodward's *Studies*. In these the author endeavoured, from a minute examination of four or five of the chief comedies, to reconstruct the main features of Jonson's art. Such an attempt offers an interesting field to the critical student and the method is legitimate enough. The nature of Jonson's writing makes it possible, moreover, to a degree to which it would not be possible in the case of most of his contemporaries; while his own direct judgments on matters of literary criticism supply valuable hints for our guidance. The present essay starts with certain general considerations and then proceeds to detailed analysis, thus rather supplying the basis for future study than actually accomplishing the work of construction.

The earliest of the Jonson texts to appear was Dr C. M. Hathaway's elaborate edition of the *Alchemist* which we noticed in the *Modern Language Quarterly* in April 1904. The next was Dr C. S. Alden's *Bartholomew Fair*. The text of this is a careful reprint of the not very accurate folio of '1631' and the notes supply a fairly adequate elucidation—there is no limit to what might be written on the subject—though some are calculated rather for American than for British consumption. As in the earlier volume, however, the bibliographical matter cannot be altogether commended. The folio is said, on the authority of Fleay, to have been printed by John Benson, though he did not begin work till 1635 and was moreover a bookseller and not a printer. The 'I. B.' of the title-page was John Beale, as is proved by the device, not a wolf's head erased, as the editor says, but a griffin's, together with the arms of Beale and the Stationers' company. The statement that the play 'was performed at court before King James, November 1, 1614, the day following its first production at the Hope' is presumably given on the same authority, but despite its obvious importance for the literary history of the piece, the evidence for the assertion is not quoted. The introduction as a whole is slight, and the remarks on Jonson's realism appear to us devoid of critical interest.

Dr Mallory's edition of *Poetaster* is in all ways a more considerable piece of work. The bibliographical section is elaborate and on the whole satisfactory, though the fact that the editor has thought it necessary to take repeated notice of the omission of the letters J, U, W, from the signatures suggests a certain unfamiliarity with his subject. In his treatment of the stage quarrel he has been mainly guided by the work of Penniman and Small, the latter of whom he holds in high esteem. His discussion of the proposed identification of characters is full and scholarly, and he writes upon a subject, which has called forth almost as much nonsense as the Sonnets of Shakespeare, with admirable judgment and good sense. With his main conclusions we are in entire agreement. These are that in Jonson's plays the only identifications to be made are Horace with Jonson himself, Hedon-Crispinus with Marston, and Anaiides-Demetrius with Dekker. In the text we have noticed a good many small variations from the copy before us, but most if not all

of these, we have no doubt, are due to variations between the originals, the existence of which is duly recorded. Altogether it is a very useful edition of this preposterous play.

The chief interest of Dr De Winter's edition of the *Staple of News* lies in his proposed ascription of the *London Prodigal* in whole or in part to Jonson. He proves clearly that the *Staple* is little more than a patch-work from a variety of writings, some classical, but mostly recognised as Jonson's own, with the exception of the *London Prodigal*. The likeness in this case is shown not merely to lie in the general situation, but to be carried out in a number of details of greater or less importance. The improbability of Jonson, of all people, pilfering from his contemporaries is very great, and the *a priori* argument in favour of his authorship of the earlier play correspondingly strong. The theory will therefore demand the serious attention of future Jonson critics, but in the absence of a fuller and more detailed investigation we hesitate to endorse unreservedly the editor's conclusions. The bibliographical section is again unsatisfactory. The *Staple* can never have been intended for issue as a separate pamphlet; the volume containing it is simply a folio—measurement has nothing to do with the question—and, moreover, it does possess a general title-page, though this is often wanting. The editor has made the same blunders as Dr Alden with respect to the 'wolf's head' and the identity of 'I. B.' Some of the company dates are wrong; Lord Strange became Earl of Derby in 1593 not 1594.

Ben Jonson has not, however, absorbed the whole energy of the Elizabethan scholars of Yale. Dr Thompson's monograph on the *Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage* is a serious piece of work, which the ample discussion of original authorities will render of real value to students. We would instance more particularly the chapter on legislation, which, though short, offers a clear and able summary of very confused and unsatisfactory materials. As a whole, however, the work is not a critical history, but an elaborate special pleading on a given brief and *de parti pris*. In spite of a mild disclaimer in the preface, the writer's bias appears over and over again in the naïve inconsequence of his arguments, and is, indeed, so obvious that it can do little harm. There are also a few rather careless errors, such as the confusion of Gyles Allen, ground-landlord of the Theatre, with Edward Alleyn, owner of the Fortune and founder of Dulwich College, and the ascription of *A Whip for an Ape* to the 'theatrical manager' (John?) Laneham. Readers may also wonder who the Francis Petrarch may have been, who mentioned the Curtain and the Theatre. More serious is a frequent want of judgment in handling historical evidence. It is not easy to illustrate this within reasonable limits, but one or two cases, out of many, may be pointed out. Take for instance the passage where the author is urging Northbrooke's intimate knowledge of dramatic conditions. After quoting some remarks concerning 'juglers, scoffers, jeasters and players,' he adds: 'Such passages are sufficient to convince the reader that Northbrooke knew whereof he spoke.' Yet on his own showing the writer was but repeating from his

predecessors the commonplaces of puritan invective. So again what Dr Thompson calls a 'characterization of the old intrigue comedy' is far stronger evidence of Northbrooke's familiarity with the classics of anti-stage polemics from Tertullian onwards, than with the actual plays of the time. Another instance occurs in his attempt to demonstrate the growth of puritan feeling in London, and to discount the repute in which men like Alleyn and Henslowe were held. The latter was elected vestryman in 1607. 'Perhaps,' says our author, 'this was due somewhat to signs of improvement among the actors' and quotes in support remarks made by Stowe in 1583. This is fantastic. The sentiment which made the parishioners of St Saviour's esteem Henslowe was the same as that which made the inhabitants of Finsbury welcome the erection of the Fortune when they found that the players were prepared to contribute handsomely to the maintenance of their poor. Rather than multiply instances of this sort we will add a few words upon the general merits of the controversy. Dr Thompson's main contention, if we understand him rightly, is that the puritan attack was not only justified by outrageous abuses, but was, furthermore, motivated by considerations which we should to-day hold valid. Now the reformers saw one aspect of the question very clearly and their zeal did not tend to nice discrimination. If we accept their account we shall have to conclude with Dr Thompson that people frequented the playhouses for no other reason than 'to applaud with delight the representation of vice,' and also that the audience consisted exclusively of the debauched gallant, the dissipated apprentice, the cutpurse and the strumpet. The answer is obvious. Had the conditions been as here represented, the stage could never have produced a body of literature such as the Elizabethan drama, which is at once an immense artistic achievement and as a whole morally sound. Nor is the basis of the attack beyond criticism. Dr Thompson wrote truer than he knew when he described the academic dispute as essentially 'the same old Puritan question.' The Oxford controversy was concerned with the application of a verse in Deuteronomy and a Roman praetor's decree, and that similar considerations played no unimportant part in the puritan attitude is evident from the care with which Jonson consulted Selden as to the relevancy of the texts cited. The puritan apologist may urge that even if the attack was exaggerated and unfair the reformers had the interests of morality genuinely at heart. It is a sufficient answer, that grossly libellous as was the stage satire, there were among the defenders of the theatre men who were honestly fighting the battle of art. This, of course, was unintelligible to the reformers, and our present author's whole mental attitude is too much like that of the old Puritans to enable him to grasp the real meaning of the struggle. He is, for instance, constantly dwelling upon the 'liberal' spirit of the critics of the stage. He quotes Stubbes' opinion that playing 'may be used, in tyme and place convenient, as conduible to example of life and reformation of maners,' and commends Milton's view that by a due exercise of authority the stage could be rendered, for recreation and instruction, a supplement to the

pulpit. There is nothing liberal in all this. The reformers offered to tolerate the existence of the stage on condition that it was content to serve a purpose not its own. It rightly refused life upon such terms.

W. W. GREG.

The Poems of Abraham Cowley. Edited by A. R. WALLER (Cambridge English Classics). Cambridge University Press, 1905. 8vo. viii + 467 pp.

The Cambridge University Press is doing a great service to readers of English literature in the publication of this series. We have here in convenient and inexpensive volumes, on good paper and in excellent print, the works of classical English writers faithfully reproduced in the form of their original publication, with no alteration of spelling or punctuation, save in the case of evident misprints, and with every detail of typography—arrangement of title-pages, use of capitals and of italics—carefully preserved. This is the form in which poets should be read, by those at least to whom the original editions themselves are inaccessible. The present volume is one of the most acceptable of the series. Cowley's poems have not hitherto been available in any modern edition except that of Grosart, which can hardly be procured, and in any case is very expensive; and no reader is likely to complain that they are wanting in interest. Moreover Cowley is eminently one whom Cambridge should delight to honour, a genuine student, a true poet, and a faithful lover of his College and of his University, his 'dear Cambridge.' The authors represented in this series of English Classics are not all Cambridge men, but Ascham, Crashaw and Cowley are among those who have already appeared, and Fletcher and Prior among those that are to come. Milton is perhaps forestalled, for Canon Beeching's edition, published by the Oxford Press, is very much upon the same lines as these.

The present volume of Cowley contains all the English poems published in the folio of 1668, except those pieces which are connected with the prose writings; and it is intended to publish in a companion volume the remainder of the contents in prose and verse of the folio of 1668, together with those of Cowley's juvenile writings which were not republished by himself in his collected works, and his English plays. In justice to the author it must be remembered that he protests strongly in his Preface against the republication of the rejected juvenile poems, 'which though they were then looked upon as commendable extravagances in a Boy (men setting a value upon any kind of fruit before the usual season of it), yet I would be loth to be bound now to read them all over my self, and therefore should do ill to expect that patience from others'; and he laments the common fortune of almost all poets, whose works, commonly printed after their deaths, are stuffed

out with worthless additions, 'whether this proceed from the indiscretion of their Friends, who think a vast heap of Stones or Rubbish a better Monument than a little Tomb of Marble, or by the unworthy avarice of some Stationers, who are content to diminish the value of the Author, so may they encrease the price of the Book.'

If we have any fault to find with the arrangement of this edition, it is that it was not found possible to include in the same volume with these poems the *Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell* and the *Several Discourses by way of Essays in Verse and Prose*, which form the remainder of the 1668 folio, and in that case the juvenile poems and the plays might perhaps have been left to take care of themselves.

We must not be ungrateful, however. The volume before us is a most charming one, and it may be hoped that it will do something to vindicate the fame of one who has been somewhat unfairly treated by critics. Johnson's *Life of Cowley* is a brilliant piece of criticism, and can hardly be accused of unfairness. He has collected a most amusing list of examples to illustrate the vices of a particular school of poetry. These examples are chiefly taken from Cowley; but they are accompanied by abundant acknowledgment of his excellencies as a poet, and the *Life* concludes with this appreciation: 'It may be affirmed without any encomiastic enthusiasm...that he was the first who imparted to English numbers the enthusiasm of the greater ode and the gaiety of the less; that he was equally qualified for sprightly sallies and for lofty flights; that he was among those who freed translation from servility, and instead of following his author at a distance, walked by his side; and that if he left versification yet improvable, he left likewise from time to time such specimens of excellence as enabled succeeding poets to improve it.' This is much, especially from Johnson: but succeeding writers have usually drawn from the stock of quotations accumulated by Johnson without reproducing his qualifications or his favourable appreciation, and have also failed to notice that the examples are nearly all drawn from one section of Cowley's work, *The Mistress*, with regard to which he himself lets us know that it is not to be regarded as expressing much genuine feeling. His love-poems are, he says, to be regarded as a kind of formality, like that of the pilgrimage to Mecca to which some Mahometans are bound by their order; and we have independent testimony that he was not much given to love-affairs, in spite of his humorous *Chronicle*. Naturally then it is in this department of his work that he is most apt to indulge in frigid conceits and fantastic comparisons, that 'concordia discors' which Addison calls 'mixed wit,' and it is here that he is most markedly under the influence of Donne. Indeed many of the poems in *The Mistress* might well have been written by Donne himself, *The given Heart* for example:

I wonder what those Lovers mean, who say,
They have given their Hearts away.
Some good kind Lover tell me how;
For mine is but a Torment to me now:

(the poem from which Johnson takes his quotation to show that a lover's heart is a hand grenado), and that entitled *The Soul*, beginning 'Some dull Philosopher, when he hears me say.'

Justice has hardly been done in modern times to Cowley's Pindaric Odes. The actual reproductions of Pindar are not called by the author translations; he makes it not so much his aim 'to let the Reader know precisely what he spoke, as what was his way and manner of speaking,' and though Cowley has no doubt sometimes introduced ornaments such as Pindar could not have used, yet at times he has been happy in his additions, as at the beginning of the sixth stanza of the Nemean ode,

How early has young Chromius begun
The Race of Virtue, and how swiftly run,
And born the noble Prize away,
Whilst other youths yet at the Barriere stay!

It is true that by getting rid of the obscurity of connexion he has to some extent altered Pindar's 'way and manner of speaking,' but after all, the lucidity of Cowley's Pindarics is a fault that may well be pardoned. It is manifestly unfair to blame him for not reproducing the strophe and antistrophe, when Milton is not blamed for deliberately rejecting that form in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, as 'not essential to the Poem and therefore not material.'

Finally, it may boldly be said that the *Dauides* has been absurdly underrated. It is an unfinished work and therefore cannot be judged as a whole, and the merit of what we have is very unequal; but many portions of it rise to a remarkably high level of excellence: Milton was undoubtedly influenced by it to some extent, and Dryden far more, indeed it was Cowley rather than Waller or Denham who supplied the model of Dryden's heroic couplet, and that not only as regards the occasional use of the alexandrine, as exemplified in the *Dauides*, or of the triplet, as in Cowley's latest work, but still more in the general structure and flow of the verse. We can hardly read any part of the *Dauides* without being reminded of Dryden. Take this passage from near the beginning:

This knew the Tyrant, and this useful thought,
His wounded mind to health and temper brought.
He old kind vows to David did renew,
Swore constancy, and meant his oath for true.
A general joy at this glad news appear'd,
For David all men lov'd, and Saul they fear'd.
Angels and Men did Peace and David love,
But Hell did neither Him nor That approve;
From man's agreement fierce Alarms they take,
And Quiet here does there new Business make.

Beneath the silent chambers of the earth,
Where the Sun's fruitful beams give metals birth,

Beneath the dens where unfleht Tempests lye,
And infant Winds their tender Voyces try,
Beneath the mighty Ocean's wealthy Caves,
Beneath th' eternal Fountain of all Waves,

Where their vast Court the Mother-waters keep,
 And undisturb'd by Moons in silence sleep,
 There is a place, deep, wondrous deep below,
 Which genuine Night and Horror does o'erflow, &c.

Here we have Dryden's metre and Dryden's rhythm anticipated, both in the more familiar and in the more imaginative style, and Dryden was probably indebted to Cowley ('the darling of my youth') more deeply than in his later age he was quite aware. Cowley in fact was a man of essentially wholesome tastes, with a natural tendency to simplicity and lucidity, who at a certain period contracted the vices of the so-called 'metaphysical' style, but almost wholly shook them off both in his verse and his prose before the end of his career. No other poet serves so well as a link between the first and second halves of the seventeenth century in English literature.

To return to the volume with which the Cambridge Press has presented the public, we will conclude by saying that so far as we have been able to compare it with the original editions it is absolutely accurate, and that it must be a pleasure to every lover of Cowley who does not possess those original editions, to be brought nearer to his author by this scholarly reproduction.

G. C. MACAULAY.

The Poems of John Keats. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by
 E. DE SÉLINCOURT. London: Methuen and Co., 1905. 8vo.
 lxxviii + 613 pp.

Mr de Sélincourt's edition of Keats marks an advance in that scientific and faithful treatment of an author's text which is now happily becoming acclimatised in England. It is so good in some ways that we wish it were a perfect edition in all respects, but the failings to which we desire to draw the editor's attention can easily be remedied in the second edition that is certain to be called for.

We are glad to note that Mr de Sélincourt has not followed Mr Buxton Forman 'in altering the spelling of certain words so as to make them fit in with what appears to be Keats's usual form.' Such a procedure is at variance with that absolute fidelity to an author's text which should be an editor's first rule. Why this craze for uniformity? No writer sets forth with a cast-iron rule as to commas and past participles: he often varies his views from year to year; there may be, nay, often is, a historic interest in noticing his inconsistency, and the inconsistency itself may be a part of an author's idiosyncrasy which it is desirable to retain. It is all very well to postulate, as a recent critic has done, that spelling and punctuation are merely matters which the printer's reader has settled for the author from the days of Elizabeth *jusqu'à nos jours*, but, in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, we must assume that the author, or his authorised friends,

corrected his own proofs, and, whether he is careless or not, whether he plumes himself upon an individual method or is contemptuous in the matter of such 'sma' things,' there is no justification for tampering with his text. An editor may set forth his personal emendations to the limit of his publishers' patience in foot-notes, where the ingenious will study them, but let us have the text as it was originally printed, and on that base our views. In this respect, as we have said, Mr de Sélincourt is to be congratulated upon his decision to present the exact text of the three volumes published during Keats's lifetime.

The Notes to the poems constitute a very valuable commentary; they are rightly printed after the text, and they are really an aid to a more thorough understanding of the poet's works. Mr de Sélincourt has insight and a fine taste: he is also, so far as we have been able to test his references, accurate: a quality that is not always combined with illuminating criticism.

We fail to see why the second edition of the *Posthumous and Fugitive Poems*, containing the characteristic sonnet to Chatterton and other poems which Mr de Sélincourt regards as 'weak,' should be printed in smaller type than the first section. In a volume of selections we can understand an editor's personal preferences being allowed full play, but not in a practically complete edition. We gather from the Preface that Mr de Sélincourt would willingly have left out these fugitive verses, but it surely cannot be admitted that an editor should have the power to decide the canon of an author's writings by any other rule than that of authenticity.

We hope Mr de Sélincourt will, in a future edition, facilitate cross-reference between text and notes by giving in the latter some indication of the page in the text to which they refer. As it is, beyond a few headlines, the reader has no help, for not a single note is paged: he has to turn up the title of the poem in the index, if he wishes to check the text by the notes, and if he wishes to find the notes to any poem or passage he has to turn over page after page until he alights upon what he wants. And we should have been grateful to him if he had given on the sectional half-titles type reproductions of the original title-pages.

Beyond these complaints there is little to be said but praise: the chronological tables are excellent, the glossary of Keats's language will be most useful, the volume has a sufficient index and the Introduction is an able exposition of the characteristic qualities of Keats.

A. R. WALLER.

Schillers Sämtliche Werke. Säkular-Ausgabe in 16 Bänden. Herausgegeben von E. VON DER HELLEN. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1904, 1905. 8vo.

Schiller: Sein Leben und seine Werke. Von KARL BERGER. In zwei Bänden. Erster Band. Munich: Beck, 1906. viii + 630 pp.

The contributions which the 'Schiller year' 1905 has made to our knowledge and understanding of the poet, are, as it is, we believe, generally admitted, disappointing. The extravagances which popular enthusiasm indulged in, at the centenary of Schiller's birth, in 1859, have, it is true, been avoided, and even the extreme enthusiasts have attempted, in a sober spirit, to view their idol *sub specie eterni*; but the present year has given us no work on Schiller to be compared with Tomaschek's *Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft*, which appeared in 1862, and it has not even brought us, what would have outweighed all the other Schiller literature of the year, the two concluding volumes of Minor's biography.

The best and most furthering criticism inspired by the occasion has found its way into the special numbers of the learned periodicals, such as the *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, *Euphoriion* and, we may add, the *Revue germanique*. But the nature of this criticism is in itself significant. It avoids, for the most part, the wider issues, and larger problems, and contents itself with small and sharply defined provinces of 'Schiller philology'; it is obviously opportune, that is to say, prompted rather by the calendar than by inner impulse or conviction—the result of a few days or, it may be, weeks of steady application. And it cannot be urged in defence that the larger problems of Schiller's life and work have all been already solved. On the contrary, many of them have not even been faced. There is not one of Schiller's riper dramas, for instance, which has been investigated and discussed in all its manifold aspects, including its relations to the dramatic practice of its time; and we have only to turn to Walzel's admirable introduction to the volume of Schiller's philosophic writings in the new Cotta edition, to see what has still to be done in this field.

In all that pertains to production—type, paper, binding—as well as cheapness, this new edition of the poet's Collected Works is exemplary. The text, too, as it is almost needless to say, is reproduced with scrupulous care, and will satisfy all practical needs, although we should have liked to see, even at the expense of an additional volume, greater completeness. We miss, for instance, a complete reprint of the parts of *Don Carlos* that appeared in the *Thalia*, as well as of the prose version—all of them essential documents for the understanding of the most critical epoch in Schiller's career as a dramatist. Again, it is unfortunate that the new edition should not have repaired an omission which is common to every previous edition, by reprinting, if only in an appendix, the all-important *Kalliasbriefe* to Körner. The arrangement of the *Gedichte* in Volume I, according to a plan of Schiller's own, has been sufficiently commented upon in the German press, where it has found few defenders. The traditional grouping, due, in the first

instance, to Körner, is admittedly unsatisfactory, but if it must be departed from at all in a modern edition, the change, it seems to us, should be in the direction of a more strictly chronological arrangement. Of the various introductions to the separate volumes, all are good and some, especially that by Walzel already referred to, and that by Köster to the translations, are admirable. But with the results before us of this kind of 'editing' in England, that is to say, of inviting distinguished critics and scholars to write introductions to familiar classics in order to give the reprint additional commercial value, we can only say that we regret to see the custom being adopted in Germany. A standard edition of a great classical writer should be left to speak for itself.

The Centenary of 1905 has been the occasion of several new lives of Schiller, and amongst these Karl Berger's deserves special notice. It is a carefully compiled and judiciously written book, and, if the second volume bears out the promise of the first, it may be recommended to the student as, in stereotype phrase, 'the best Life of Schiller of moderate compass.' But it is possible to admit so much and yet regret that the work has not a more obvious *raison d'être* than merely to provide the publisher of the admirable *Life of Goethe* by Bielschowsky with a companion book on Schiller. Berger has little or nothing of importance to say about Schiller that has not already been said, and, unlike Bielschowsky, his way of expressing himself is not original enough to justify the repetition; his criticism is, from the traditional point of view, 'sound,' but wanting in any kind of distinction. The book is an excellent handbook of what we already know and have been taught to think about Schiller, but little more. It is, however, the last volume of a life of Schiller, as of Goethe, not the first that is the real touchstone of its value, and we prefer to suspend further judgment until we have seen what Dr Berger has still to say.

The fascination which Schiller's genius has always had for the metaphysical type of mind and the tendency to judge him from a philosophical—we use the word in its widest acceptance—point of view, has been unfortunate; for it keeps away from Schiller just the kind of critic who might be best able to give us the definitive biography of Schiller we still await. 'Eine Schillerbiographie,' wrote a distinguished critic of Berger's volume the other day, 'muss pathetisch sein.' Now that, it seems to us, is just the last thing a Life of Schiller ought to be. One might as well say, a Life of Heine must be cynical, of Lenau pessimistic. For the ideal Schiller-biographer we look, not to the metaphysician with leanings towards Schillerian 'Pathos,' but to a scholar who has grown up under Goethe's influence, and is able to regard Schiller's life and work as Goethe regarded them, that is to say, with that healthy naturalism and respect for the concrete fact, which distinguished all Goethe's judgments of men and books. It is this spirit that appeals to us in Brahm's fragmentary biography of Schiller, although Brahm's mind was too divided when he wrote it for him to give us of his best; it is also the unmetaphysical attitude which makes Harnack's *Schiller*—wanting as it is in the essential touch of

sympathy for the poet—so stimulating and suggestive. On the other hand, the metaphysical and 'pathetic' extreme is to be seen in Kühnemann's new book on Schiller (Munich: Beck); and we are afraid Berger, too, sees his hero from a similar point of view. Like Kühnemann, he is so intent upon justifying his hero to the twentieth century that, even in this first volume, he fails to do justice to that infinitely greater Schiller of the eighteenth century, who gave voice, as no other of his contemporaries, to the humanism of the classic age.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

Heinrich Heines Verhältnis zu Lord Byron. Von FELIX MELCHIOR (*Literarhistorische Forschungen*, herausgegeben von J. SCHICK und M. VON WALDBERG. XXVII. Heft). Berlin: E. Felber, 1903. 8vo. iv + 169 pp.

Die Aufnahme Lord Byrons in Deutschland und sein Einfluss auf den jungen Heine. Von WILHELM OCHSENBEIN. (*Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte*, herausgegeben von O. F. WALZEL. VI. Heft.) Bern: A. Francke, 1905. 8vo. x + 229 pp.

These two books are the first attempts to determine accurately the extent of Byron's influence upon Heine. The task has not been easy, and the conclusions of the critics are widely at variance. Melchior is convinced that the greater part of the resemblance between the two poets is the result of posing and imitation on the part of Heine, while Ochsenbein argues on the whole for the German poet's independence and originality: he accepts as substantially correct Heine's own words, 'wir mögen uns in manchen Dingen geglichen haben.' Unfortunately, Melchior's book, in addition to containing many errors of detail, is vitiated by an ignorance or disregard of the factors in Heine's psychological growth, by want of sympathy and a manifest wish to ascribe the most trifling coincidences to literary imitation, conscious or unconscious. His second chapter deals fully with Heine's translations from Byron. To the instances of false rendering on p. 68 should be added *Manfred* 218. The two passages considered incorrect by Melchior (p. 70) are free translations but by no means wrong, and as to the motto from *Christabel*, it is not Heine but his critic who has mistaken the meaning of the English. Something more might have been said about Heine's language in these early translations. It is interesting to note, for example, that Heine employs trivial expressions where Byron has none (*Manfred* 6, 112, 130, 150, 171); in the repetition of words and phrases the German poet goes much further than his English original, and the introduction of diminutives like 'Mägdlein,' 'Thränlein,' 'Sternlein,' 'Händchen,' 'Mündchen,' 'Gesichtchen,' where Byron has no suggestion of them, is a reversion to the mannerism of Heine's early period. In his third chapter Melchior discusses parallels in the poems of the two

authors, but with regard to most of them opinion must vary. The indebtedness, for instance, of *Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden* to *Fare thee Well*, or of *Traumbild* III and IV to Byron's *Dream* I—V and VI, or of *Lyr. Intermezzo* 60 to *Dream* III, is very doubtful. A better case can be made out for *Dream* VII having influenced the poem *Ratcliff*, and Melchior's comparison of *Belsatzar* with Byron's poem on the same theme is instructive. The source of *Lehn' deine Wang' an meine Wang'* in Byron's *To Caroline* (9—17) has been rightly pointed out, but there is no connection between *Heimkehr* 61 and *Childe Harold* III, 91. Melchior argues for a considerable Byronic influence on Heine's sea-poetry. The idea of the wind being lulled to sleep by the water (*Nordsee* I, 2 and 4) is certainly Byronic; a nearer parallel than the one quoted is *Siege of Corinth* ix. Again, the comparison of the heaving of the waves with that of the human breast recalls Byron (*Stanzas for Music*), who may have derived it from Ossian; perhaps Heine may have even drawn directly from Ossian (cp. *Nordsee* I, 6 with *Fingal* I, 6: 'In their midst the king stood silent, His struggling thoughts upheaving in his breast Like waves on a mountain loch Each one in foam and hoary' etc.). Melchior's remarks about the comic rhymes in both poets are valuable and might well be extended.

Ochsenbein's book is a much sounder and more carefully considered piece of work. He prepares the ground for his investigation by discussing in two preliminary chapters 'Die Aufnahme Byrons in Deutschland' and 'Heines Verhältnis zu Byron im Urteile der Kritik.' In the former of these he considers with great insight and fullness the manner in which Byron's personality, his poetical gifts and his type of hero influenced the Germans; in the latter he brings together the opinions of Heine's contemporaries and of later critics on the question of the German poet's indebtedness to Byron. The third chapter is an excellent account of Heine's personal attitude to Byron. At first he was enthusiastic; very soon, however, he lost taste for the Englishman's work and, later still, grew quite indifferent to it. The period in which Byron's influence was strongest, is 1820 to 1822. In the fourth chapter, Ochsenbein discusses parallels between Heine's lyrics and Byron's poetry, and arrives at the conclusion that Byron's influence on the lyrics is slight and so fugitive as to defy detection: 'der einzige Einfluss ist ein unkontrollierbares, jedenfalls sehr leises Einmischen seines Pessimismus in die Stimmungen Heines.' Ochsenbein insists on the influence of the *Dream* upon *Ratcliff* and of *Darkness* upon *Götterdämmerung*; other parallels quoted on p. 190 (*Don Juan* II, 34 with *Aufsatz über Polen* VII, 190 and *Stanzas to Augusta* with *Heimkehr* 87), seem to me very doubtful. Ochsenbein does not discuss Heine's sea-poetry at all; he would almost close the period of Byron's influence with the year 1822. But even if Heine had ceased to read Byron much after that time, the sunset scenes had made a deep impression upon him; he speaks of them in the *Harzreise* (III, 57), and it seems to me that they have in many cases suggested the opening lines of Heine's sea-lyrics in the same way

as the Volkslied supplied him with the 'situation' of his love-lyrics. Two parallels may serve as examples:

Slow sinks the sun.....
One unclouded blaze of living light
O'er the hushed deep the yellow beam he
throws
Gilds the green wave that trembles as
it glows. (*Curse of Minerva.*)

And the midnight moon is weaving
Her bright chain o'er the deep.
(*Stanzas for Music.*)

Die glühend rote Sonne steigt
Hinab in's weit aufschauende,
Silbergraue Weltmeer.
(*Nordsee* I, 3.)

Der Mond
Überstrahlt das graue Meer
Breiten Streifs mit goldenem
Glanze. (*Nachlese* II, 71.)

In each case Heine has more colour. One must remember, too, that he did not sing of the sea as an imitator, but only after he had himself become acquainted with its beauty and charm. The influence of Byron is not more than a reminiscence, an unconscious suggestion; and in the love-poems it is hardly anything else. On the whole, Ochsenbein's conclusions are acceptable, and his study is an important step towards the settlement of what has long been a vexed question.

JOHN LEES.

Athenaeum. Eine Zeitschrift von A. W. SCHLEGEL und FR. SCHLEGEL. Neu herausgegeben von F. BAADER. (*Das Museum*, herausgegeben von H. LANDSBERG, IV. Bd.) Berlin: Pan-Verlag, ohne Jahr. 290 pp. 8vo.

Jakob Minor hat sich vor kurzem in der *Deutschen Literaturzeitung* mit Entschiedenheit gegen die moderne Leidenschaft der Neudrucke gewandt; ohne ihm unbedingt recht zu geben, muss man zugestehen, dass Fälle wie der vorliegende vom Übel sind. Gewiss ist das *Athenaeum* eine der wichtigsten Quellen für unsere Erkenntnis derjenigen Tendenzen, die die deutsche Literatur umgeschaffen haben; aber eben deshalb verlangt das Werk von dem Erneuerer mehr Ernst und mehr Wissen als Baader besitzt.

Auf vielerlei Weise konnte das Unternehmen glücken. Man konnte eine wissenschaftliche und kommentierte Ausgabe veranstalten, wie wir sie z. B. von A. W. Schlegels Berliner *Vorlesungen* in mustergiltiger Weise besitzen; oder man konnte für das grössere Publikum eine 'Schausammlung' veranstalten, wie die Museen sie auslegen. Aber gleich die Einleitung zeigt dass wir keins von beiden erwarten dürfen: sie ist für eine wissenschaftliche Ausgabe zu flach und phrasenhaft, für eine populäre setzt sie zu viel voraus und hält sich zu sehr im Allgemeinen. Die Auswahl selbst deckt der Herausgeber mit dem Schlagwort 'subjektiv,' und freilich muss sie subjectiv sein; aber ein genauer Kenner hätte doch anders gewählt, wenn wir selbst nicht mit L. Geiger (in der *Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1. Oktober, 1905) die Aufnahme der grösseren Aufsätze tadeln wollen, die bereits Minor in

Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften neu herausgegeben hat. Geiger hat auch schon die Oberflächlichkeit und Unzuverlässigkeit der Anmerkungen erwiesen, die durch ein ärgerliches Versehen der Druckerei (wodurch die Seitenverweise fast nie stimmen) und durch Druckfehler wie 'Archilogos' (S. 280) noch unbrauchbarer werden.

Was bleibt übrig? Eine hübsch ausgestattete Blütenlese von romantischen Einfällen und Gedanken; aber von dem Blütenstaub behalten wir des Staubes mehr als der Blüten in der Hand!

RICHARD M. MEYER.

Concordanza delle Opere Italiane in Prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri. Pubblicata per la Società Dantesca di Cambridge, Massachusetts, a cura di E. S. SHELDON coll' aiuto di A. C. WHITE. Oxford: nella Stamperia dell' Università, 1905. Roy. 8vo. 740 pp.

Seventeen years ago the Cambridge Dante Society in America issued Professor Fay's *Concordance of the Divina Commedia*, a work which, in spite of certain defects of arrangement, enjoys a deservedly high reputation, and has become an almost indispensable companion to every serious student of Dante. We have now to congratulate the same Society on the publication of another monumental work of reference in the shape of the present Concordance of the Italian Prose Works and of the *Canzoniere* of Dante. In the case of a poem like the *Divina Commedia* the preparation of a concordance is a comparatively simple matter so far as regards references. For this purpose any ordinary edition will serve. But where a prose work is concerned the question of the references becomes a serious matter, especially when there happens to be no recognised standard edition: When the preparation of this concordance of Dante's Italian prose works was first begun, under the auspices of Professor Charles Eliot Norton, this difficulty had to be faced by the compilers. Fortunately, before the work was too far advanced, the reference problem was solved by the publication of the Oxford Dante, in which the whole of Dante's works are included, with the lines both of prose and of poetical pieces numbered throughout, while the poems of the *Canzoniere* are for the first time consecutively numbered. This volume, of which a third edition was published a year ago, and which has been accepted as the standard edition of Dante on the Continent, as well as in England and America, was naturally adopted as the basis of the new concordance. The immense convenience of the Oxford Dante for the purposes of reference may be realised at a glance by any one who consults the *Enciclopedia Dantesca* of the late Dr Scartazzini. The references to Dante's prose writings in that work are to various editions arbitrarily selected by the editor, while in the case of the *Canzoniere* he is obliged to have recourse to the clumsy expedient of quoting the first line of each poem referred to. Seeing then how greatly the compilers of this concordance are indebted to the Oxford Dante for the simplification of the whole system

of references, it is not a little surprising to find no mention of the fact in the preface. We have only the bare statement that the text followed is that of the Oxford Dante. It would have been more graceful, to say the least of it, if some slight acknowledgement had been made of the very considerable assistance afforded to the compilers in the matter of the references by the Oxford edition. The omission is the more noticeable owing to the fact that Professor Fiammazzo, the editor of the *Vocabolario-Concordanza* recently published by Hoepli of Milan, lays particular stress on the convenience of the line-references in the Oxford Dante for the purposes of his work.

The responsible editor of the concordance is Professor E. S. Sheldon, of Harvard, and his principal collaborator, as is indicated on the title-page, has been Mr A. C. White, whose name is known to English Dantists in connexion with a gallant, if not altogether successful, attempt at an English rendering of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*.

We have no hesitation in saying that the work reflects great credit on all concerned. The printing, which was entrusted to the Oxford University Press—a striking and well-deserved tribute to the high reputation of the University typographer, Mr Horace Hart—is admirably executed. The type of the quotations, though somewhat small, is clear and distinct, while the head-words stand out conspicuous in heavy type, thus greatly facilitating reference.

The editors wisely abandoned the arbitrary arrangement adopted by Professor Fay in his concordance of the *Commedia*, and have reverted to the usual plan of giving the quotations in the order in which they occur in the original texts. We are inclined to think they were well-advised to separate the poetical from the prose quotations, by placing the former in the upper half of the page, and the latter in the lower, though this arrangement involves considerable repetition of head-words. On the other hand, we decidedly disapprove of the abandonment of the accepted concordance method of giving as head-words every separate part of verb, substantive, or adjective, in favour of the dictionary method, viz. that of registering all verbal forms under the head of the infinitive, and of ignoring as headings the inflected forms of substantives and adjectives. We cannot see that any advantage is gained by this arrangement, while the disadvantages are obvious. For instance, in order to find a particular passage, say, in which the word *ragiona* occurs (as in the phrase *ragiona il fine*), it is necessary to search through more than two pages of the concordance under the heading *ragionare*, whereas if there had been a heading *ragiona*, it would only have been necessary to glance through about a third of a page. Again, to verify a quotation in which the word *ode* occurs, one has to turn to *udire*, under which heading there are more than a page and a half of entries.

In the case of some two hundred words of very frequent occurrence, or of comparative unimportance, numerical references alone are given. This is reasonable enough, no doubt, in certain instances; but it is disconcerting, to say the least of it, to be confronted by a page and three quarters consisting of nothing but numerals, as under *dire*, for

example. This is about on a par with the entry *Smith* in the index to the old *Gentleman's Magazine*, where all the Smiths mentioned in the magazine are lumped together under one heading. How hopeless the search under these conditions for peculiar forms such as *dicer*, *dille*, *diri*, and the like! This mass of figures might have been of some use if each part of the verb had been registered separately with its own references. The word *diri*, by the way (the plural of the infinitive *dire* used substantively; cf. *saliri* in *Purg.* XIX. 78) which occurs in *Canz.* VIII. 75, ought certainly to have found a place in the concordance. In the case of certain of these words we think that the editors might with advantage have used their discretion. Under *ogni*, for example, they might very well have quoted the passages (e.g. *Conv.* III. 5, l. 139; 7, l. 87; 11, l. 78; IV. 23, l. 148) where Dante uses the word in the restricted sense of 'both' (cf. *Inf.* VII. 32; XXII. 56; *Purg.* II. 22; IV. 32; XXVI. 31). Again, Dante's special use of *acciocchè* might well have been indicated; as might the interrogative use of *quando*; and so on.

Details of this kind, however, are matters of opinion; and no doubt the editors were to some extent influenced by considerations of space, in deciding on these and similar omissions.

So far as we have been able to test it, and we have tested it pretty severely, the accuracy of the references—a matter of paramount importance in a work of this description—is beyond reproach. We have discovered but one wrong reference in the course of our examination, namely on p. 652, l. 6 from foot, where *Conv.* IV. 15 should be IV. 5.

The title page—the arrangement of which displays a lamentable lack of taste on the part of the printers—and the preface are in Italian. This seems at first sight a somewhat ridiculous piece of pedantry. The explanation is that if either were in English a duty would have to be paid on every copy of the book imported from England into the United States.

The work is appropriately dedicated to the venerable and gifted president of the Cambridge Dante Society, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, who has done so much to foster and encourage the study of Dante on both sides of the Atlantic during the last forty years. To Professor Norton was due the inception of this great undertaking, now so happily completed, and we are glad to learn from him that the Society has in hand the preparation of yet another Concordance, viz. to Dante's Latin Works, which with the two volumes already published will furnish a complete register of the whole of Dante's vocabulary.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

- Dante's Divina Commedia.* Translated into English Prose by the Rev. H. F. TOZER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904. 8vo. iv + 447 pp.
- The Purgatorio of Dante Alighieri.* Rendered into Spenserian English by C. GORDON WRIGHT. London: Methuen and Co., 1905. 12mo. xii + 304 pp.

Giovanni da Serravalle, writing circa 1416, asserts, as is well known, that Dante studied theology 'in Oxoniis in regno Angliae.' Modern criticism looks on this assertion with gravest suspicion, in spite of the fact that the poet betrays (*Inf.* xv. 4 sq.) a knowledge of that coast from which our white cliffs are visible. But if Dante was never at Oxford in the flesh—'con la sua persona'—there can be no doubt at all that he is very much at Oxford now, and that our University, if she must renounce her claim to be his *Alma Mater*, is showing herself a most devoted *Alumnus*. Even repentant Florence has done no more in these last years for Dante-studies than that eminent group of Oxford scholars Drs Moore, Toynbee, and Shadwell. And now another Oxford Dantist, Mr Tozer, has added to the debt which we already owe to him for his excellent and scholarly commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, by the publication of a companion volume—a prose translation, with brief prefatory descriptions of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, and a well-selected minimum of short notes. The translation is based on Dr Moore's 2nd edition, but on *Purg.* xxiii. 117, there is a significant reference to the Forese-Dante *Tenzone*, which was only admitted to the Oxford volume in 1904.

Every lover of Dante knows that to translate the *Divina Commedia* adequately is impossible. Has not the Poet himself assured us (*Conv.* i. 7, 92 sqq.) in the most trenchant language that 'nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della sua loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia'?

Yet this impossible has been attempted again and again, and with no mean success, since Carey first began to publish his verse translation exactly a hundred years ago. And the difficulties and limitations of a translation into English verse are probably halved in a prose rendering, though they still remain enormous. The present translator's claim is very modest—to have produced a rendering faithful and readable but not too literal, and to have contributed 'something towards the more perfect translation of the future.' So much we feel certain he will have accomplished; and we venture to go much further and to predict, without prejudice to the numerous and in many cases creditable and valuable efforts of his predecessors, that his excellent book will establish itself for some time to come as the standard popular translation of the *Divina Commedia*.

That it should be faultless is too much to expect, but it comes as near perfection, for its purpose, as anything we have yet seen. Having thus expressed our opinion on the work in general, we may be permitted to subjoin a few detailed criticisms, or rather suggestions for the learned translator's consideration in view of a second edition.

A translator, unless he is prepared to mar his book by constant alternative renderings, is always under the necessity of dealing decisively and brusquely with points of doubtful interpretation. He may have oscillated for hours before his own decision was reached, but the result, unless he hedges, is definitely on one side or the other. Thus, we may not complain if we find the *Feltro* identified with Can Grande, without any suggestion of a doubt; or the *monte* of *Inf.* xviii. 33 described as the Capitoline, or the vexed phrase *beato per iscritto* of *Purg.* ii. 44 translated 'by a sure title blest.' But is it not at least probable that the Pope addressed in *Par.* xviii. 130 is Boniface VIII. rather than John XXII.? Does Dante ever forget his formal date, and speak other than *prophetically* of the actual period when he is writing?

Again, surely the context of *Inf.* xxx. 78 is overwhelmingly in favour of an identification of *Fonte Branda* with the spring, which still exists to-day on the side of the Romena hill in Casentino, as against the traditional reference to Siena.

Blemishes in the translation itself are of course exceeding few: but there are some points worth discussion. Is 'loving' a perfect rendering of *soave* (*Purg.* x. 38), or 'white' of *bionda* (*Purg.* viii. 34)? Is it sufficient to translate the wonderful verse (*Purg.* xxvii. 142):

Perch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio,

'Wherefore over thyself I invest thee with supreme control,' without a note of explanation; or to render *deiforme* (*Par.* ii. 19) by 'which exists in the mind of God,' similarly without note or comment? Again 'With gladness in his speech and looks' is a very neatly turned translation of *Par.* xv. 37:

ad udire ed a veder giocondo;

but does it exactly represent the original? Finally, 'mountaineer' is perhaps the obvious equivalent for *montanaro*, but does it not to modern ears smack more of the Alpine Club than of the hill-bred clown of *Purg.* xxvi. 68 who gazes in open-mouthed wonder and perplexity at the unfamiliar sights of the city?

To turn to somewhat different points: is not the spelling 'Halleluia' on p. 49 a monstrosity? The Latin *Alleluia* (which Dante presumably wrote) and the Hebraic *Hallelujah* are both familiar; but whence comes 'Halleluia'? Another point in which the spelling is open to criticism is on pp. 182 and 183, but in this case for its inconsistency: the Malaspina is called 'Conrad' in text and notes, and 'Conrado' in the margin.

For the rest, we have noticed some dozen places where fuller notes would seem desirable, and three or four more where an additional note, however brief, would be welcome. But in these cases it is always open to the author to shelter himself behind his earlier volume, the excellent *Oxford Commentary on the Divina Commedia*. There can be no excuse, however, for redundancy in the notes, where so much has obviously been sacrificed on the altar of brevity. Is it not therefore superfluous to

describe Carisenda (p. 136, note 3) as 'One of the *leaning* towers of Bologna which is out of the *perpendicular*,' and do we need to be informed of Briareus (p. 198, note 1) that he is 'mentioned (in *Purg.* xii. 28) apart from the other' giants?

We must apologise if many of the above criticisms seem captious; one is dealing for the most part, though not entirely, with trifling blemishes. But it is just because we recognise the beauty and the value of this new translation that we venture to notice points apparently so trifling, in the hope that the second edition, which will surely be called for ere long, may advance a step further towards the ideal 'translation of the future.'

Mr Wright has reason in his contention that Spenser's English has special qualities which adapt it to be a medium for rendering 'the easy grace and the mingled quaintness and sublimity' of the *Divina Commedia*. And on the whole his own translation of the *Purgatorio* is decidedly happy. It is at once free and faithful; yet many will object to the recurrence of 'split infinitives'; and the printing in the form of prose of a version which runs so largely in blank verse rhythm, though it has its advantages in this case, is an expedient open to discussion.

The notes are well chosen, and their material soundness is vouched for by the fact that they are mainly cited from Mr W. W. Vernon and Dr Paget Toynbee. The weak point of the book is its introduction, which condenses into eight short pages a perfect treasury of inaccuracies. We are left to conclude, for example, that the entire parties of Black and White were simultaneously banished from Florence in 1300, and that 'the Scaligers' and 'Can Grande' had no closer connexion with one another than had the latter with the Malaspini! All this is unfortunate, because the writer has a clear and forcible style, and the little introduction would have been very valuable had it not failed in accuracy. There are signs also of hurried proof-reading: misprints occasionally, and the complete omission of a note (No. 8 on xxvii.). For the rest, the style, binding, and printing of the book are worthy of Messrs Methuen's best traditions, though the copy sent us lacks the promised frontispiece.

LONSDALE RAGG.

Manualetto provenzale. Per uso degli alunni delle facoltà di lettere. Introduzione grammaticale, cretomazia e glossario. Da V. CRESCINI. Seconda edizione emendata ed accresciuta. Verona: Drucker, 1905. 8vo. xii + 548 pp.

The appearance of a second edition of a work such as this, especially after a revision so careful and complete, is an event of importance in the progress of the study of Provençal. The author acknowledges that he owes many useful hints to the critics of the first edition, and alludes to the second as 'almost a new work.' It certainly is the best book of its kind. The gaps in the first vocabulary have been filled up in the second by the addition of words common to Modern Italian and Old

Provençal, which were omitted before. The expression 'tug li plusor' (Extract iv l. 15) does not find a place. Probably the omission is an oversight. Such, too, perhaps is 'an' for a·n = 'a messere.' We have, however, 'e'n' = 'e messere' (page 387). Elsewhere the conventional dot has been adopted, and the reader finds lines like 'Lombart be·us gardaz,' to take an example at random, much more agreeable than 'Lombart beus gardaz' of the first edition. A step in the same direction, too, is the adoption of the sign 'e.' But it is the high value of the grammatical introduction which raises this particular chrestomathy above all others. We know of no other treatise on the Grammar of Old Provençal so recent, convenient and complete. This introduction, and especially the part dealing with Phonetics, has come in for a thorough revision or rather amplification. A page is added upon the origin of such doublets as 'meravilha' and 'meravelha.' Professor Crescini seems to be of opinion that the divergence or disturbance was probably due to the presence of 'j' in the next syllable; that it was in fact what it now is, purely a dialectical peculiarity, pervading the Italian as it did the Provençal area, but that here the local boundaries of its distribution have become obliterated. The passage, however, does not seem quite clear, and I may be pardoned for hoping that the fault lies with the author. In any case the argument that the wide prevalence of the form 'meravilha' tells against the Latinising hypothesis, is at least weakened by comparing its history with that of the word 'familha' and 'famille' in French. Would not the Introduction be the better for the omission of the word 'eufonia' (page 127)? The word 'euphony' has no precise meaning. It often seems to be used to describe phenomena not included under any other heading. In one treatise on Historical French, 'dissimilation' is classed among euphonic changes. The extracts are the same in both editions, with the felicitous addition in the second of a Provençal poetical epistle, one of those written by Rambaud de Vaqueiras to his patron, Boniface de Montferrat.

G. A. PARRY.

MINOR NOTICES.

Essays on Medieval Literature. By W. P. KER. London: Macmillan, 1905. 8vo. vii + 261 pp.

Our English scholars have been less successful than those of the Continent in conveying to us a sense of the beauty and glamour of medieval literature, possibly because, to quote the opening sentence of this volume, 'the attraction of medieval literature comes more strongly from some other countries than from England.' But, whether or no, the author of *Epic and Romance* and *The Dark Ages* is an exception; Professor Ker has realised for us the 'gorgeous Middle Age'

with the aid of that fine humanistic scholarship which is the most precious heritage of our older universities—a scholarship as distinct from the gay industry of the great French medievalists as it is from the mystic awe that brooded over the older German interpreters of the Dark Ages. Although all of these essays have been printed before—*Chaucer*, *Gower* and *Gaston Paris* in the *Quarterly Review*, *The Similes of Dante* in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, *Boccaccio* in the volume of Taylorian Lectures, *Froissart* as an introduction to the edition of Berners' translation in the 'Tudor' series—we welcome their appearance in a single volume.

The Diary of Samuel Pepys. With an Introduction and Notes by G. GREGORY SMITH. (The Globe Edition.) London: Macmillan, 1905. 8vo. xxxii + 800 pp.

It was to be expected that Pēpys's *Diary* would sooner or later find a place in Messrs Macmillan's 'Globe Edition,' and the publishers are to be congratulated on having found so thorough and scholarly an editor as Professor Gregory Smith. He has provided the volume with an excellent introduction, the footnotes to which contain a full bibliography. We do not wish to quarrel with the adoption of the Braybrooke-Mynors Bright edition for the present purpose; but we should have preferred a little less protest with regard to the choice. It is discussed both in the Preface and Introduction. A valuable addition to the present volume is Professor Smith's notes, which have stood the test of a pretty searching scrutiny; he has skilfully avoided the danger to which the commentator of Pepys is peculiarly exposed, of annotating the obvious.

Wordsworth's Literary Criticism. Edited with an Introduction by NOWELL C. SMITH. London: Frowde, 1905. 8vo. xxii + 260 pp.
Poems and Extracts. Chosen by William Wordsworth for an Album presented to Lady Mary Lowther, Christmas 1819. London: Frowde, 1905. 8vo. xvii + 106 pp.

The age of enthusiastic Wordsworth worship has passed away, but there still remains much for the serious student of our English Romanticists to do before final ideas are arrived at as to Wordsworth's position in the evolution of English poetry. Mr Frowde has added to his 'Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry' two volumes, each of which in its way contributes towards this end, and he promises, as a third, a reprint of the *Guide to the Lakes*, edited by Mr de Sélincourt. Whether it is fair to Wordsworth's critical judgment to lay weight on the 'Poems and Extracts' which he selected for a very special object, is open to question, but we have no hesitation in welcoming the anthology of

Wordsworth's criticism which Mr Nowell Smith has edited. The criticism that centred in the *Lyrical Ballads* has, of course, the chief place; but if we are rightly to understand Wordsworth's significance as a force in Romantic criticism, and see in him something more than Professor Saintsbury, who in his *History of Criticism* regards 'W. W.' with quite unmerited contempt, we must go farther afield. Mr Smith's extracts, especially those from the letters, are occasionally so brief as to appear 'scrappy,' but they at least point out the way to the sources of better understanding.

Goethe's Faust. Translated by ANNA SWANWICK. With an Introduction and Bibliography by KARL BREUL. London: Bell, 1905. 8vo. lxx + 437 pp.

Goethe's *Faust*, translated by Miss Anna Swanwick, has been added by Messrs Bell to their 'York Library.' The value of the new edition is enhanced by an admirable and concise Introduction by Dr K. Breul, which provides the reader with the necessary corrective to such facts in Miss Swanwick's own introduction as have been rendered obsolete by recent research and discovery. It would have been still more satisfactory had the editor been able to insert his corrections in the original introduction—rewriting here and there where necessary; but there were undoubtedly reasons for retaining Miss Swanwick's text intact. Our only criticism is that in a book obviously intended for a wide circle of readers the somewhat technical reference to the 'Urfaust,' 'Fragment,' Part I. and Part II., as U, F, P₁ and P₂ might have been better avoided. The bibliography is judiciously selected and will be helpful to the student. In the interests of the heterodox members of the 'Goethe-Gemeinde' might we not plead for the inclusion of Gwinner's *Goethes Faustidee*?

Lietuviška Chrestomatija. By E. WOLTER. Part II. St Petersburg, 1905. 240 pp.

Recent political events have brought the Lithuanian language more to the front, and we read in the Russian newspapers accounts of literary reunions in which it has been spoken by the educated classes. This interesting language, which must always possess a fascination for the student of comparative philology, is made more accessible by the Chrestomathy of E. Wolter of St Petersburg, of which the second part has just appeared, containing interesting documents, songs and dialectic specimens. At a moderate price an excellent reading-book and handy texts for philological lectures are thus furnished. Lithuanian books are still comparatively rare. We are also glad to welcome the English-Lithuanian Dictionary, published at Chicago, by A. Lalis, in two handsome volumes. A Lithuanian press has also been founded, thanks

to the activity of Dr J. Szlupas, at Scranton, Penn., U.S.A., while the Lithuanian Literary Society of Tilsit continues its useful labours. New vitality seems to be given to this ancient language.

Students of Romance Languages will welcome the *Bibliotheca Romanica* which is being published by Messrs Heitz und Mündel in Strassburg. The publication is divided into four series, devoted to French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese literatures, and is, we understand, under the general editorship of Professor G. Gröber. The first ten numbers include Molière's *Misanthrope* and *Femmes Savantes*, Corneille's *Cid*, Descartes' *Discours de la méthode*, Dante's *Inferno* (a double number), Boccaccio's *Decameron* (First Day), Calderon's *La Vida es sueño*, Restif de la Bretonne's *L'an 2000*, and Camões' *Os Lusíadas* (Cantos I. and II.). Amongst the promises are Petrarca, *Rime*, Beaumarchais, *Le Barbier de Séville*, Tillier, *Mon oncle Benjamin*, Cervantes, *Don Quijote* and the *Autos* of Gil Vicente. The texts, which are reproduced with philological accuracy, are printed in clear type and on excellent paper, and each number is prefaced by an introduction in the language of the text. The numbers cost only 40 pf. (50 centimes) each.

The 'Literarische Verein in Wien' has just issued to its members the fourth volume of its publications, Ed. von Bauernfeld's *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Dr Stefan Hock. The Society was founded in 1904 with the object of furthering the study of Austrian literature by the publication of unprinted or rare works, critical editions, correspondence, etc. In the meantime, it is not proposed to go back beyond the period of Maria Theresa. In 1904 its publications were: the first volume of *Grillparzers Gespräche und die Charakteristik seiner Persönlichkeit durch die Zeitgenossen*, by Professor A. Sauer, and F. M. Felder's *Aus meinem Leben*, edited by Professor A. E. Schönbach; in 1905, the second volume of *Grillparzers Gespräche* and the *Essays* of Bauernfeld already referred to. In preparation are: a reprint of the journal *Prometheus* (1808), a third volume of Grillparzer's *Conversations*, the political speeches of Anastasius Grün, Letters of Hermann von Gilm, Critical Essays by Emil Kuh, Political Poetry of the year 1809, and a volume of Letters and Memoirs bearing on Kant in Austria. The Secretary of the Society is Dr Rudolf Payer von Thurn, Wien, IV/2, Heugasse 56, and the annual subscription 20 Kr.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1905.

GENERAL.

(a) *Language.*

- ABEL, C., Über Gegensinn und Gegenlaut in den klassischen, germanischen und slavischen Sprachen. 1. Heft. Frankfort, Diesterweg. 1 M. 60.
 BAUMANN, F., Sprachpsychologie und Sprachunterricht. Eine kritische Studie. Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.
 LEROY, E. B., Le langage, essai sur le psychologie normale et pathologique de cette fonction. Paris, Alcan. 5 fr.
 RAVIZZA, F., Psicologia della lingua. Turin, Bocca. 3 l.
 SCHRIJNEN, J., Inleiding tot de studie der vergelijkende Indo-germaansche Taalwetenschap. Leiden, Sijthoff. 3 fl.
 STEYER, J., Der Ursprung und das Wachstum der Sprache indogermanischer Europäer. Vienna, Hölder. 6 Kr.
 VOSSLER, K., Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung. Eine theoretische Untersuchung mit praktischen Beispielen. Heidelberg, Winter. 4 M.

(b) *Literature.*

- GLASS, M., Klassische und romantische Satire. Eine vergleichende Studie. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder. 2 M.
 KER, W. P., Essays in Mediaeval Literature [The Earlier History of English Prose. Historical Notes on the Similes of Dante. Boccaccio. Chaucer. Gower. Froissart. Gaston Paris]. London, Macmillan. 5s. net.
 MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, M., Orígenes de la novela. Tomo 1. Madrid, Bailly-Baillière. 12 pes.
 OSWALD, E., The Legend of Fair Helen. As told by Homer, Goethe, and others. A study. London, Murray. 10s. 6d.
 TRENT, W. P., Greatness in Literature and other Papers. New York, Crowell. 1 dol. 20. net.
 WOODBERRY, G. E., The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature. New York, McClure, Phillips. 1 dol. 20. net.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

General.

- Aus romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen. Festschrift für Heinrich Morf. Halle, Niemeyer. 12 M.
 BERTONI, G., Giovanni Maria Barbieri e gli studî romanzi nel sec. xvi. Turin, Unione Tip. 4 l.
 Bibliotheca romanica. Nos. 1—10 [see p. 164]. Strassburg, Heitz. Each 40 pf.

Medieval Latin.

- Gesta Romanorum. Translated by C. Swan. Preface by E. A. Baker. London, Routledge. 6s. net.
- HELLMANN, S., Sedulius Scottus. I.-III. Heft. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, hrsg. von L. Traube. I.) Munich, Beck. 8 M. 50.
- ULRICH, J., Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters, ausgewählt und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Leipzig, Renger. 4 M.
- Waltharii poesis. Das Waltharilied Ekkehards I von St Gallen herausg. von H. Althof. 2. Teil: Kommentar. Leipzig, Dieterich. 13 M.

Italian.

- BARINI, G., Cantari cavallereschi dei secoli xv e xvi, raccolti e pubblicati. Bologna, Romagnoli dell' Acqua. 81. 60.
- BORGESI, P., Petrarch and his Influence on English Literature. Bologna, Zanichelli. 31.
- DONADONI, E., Sull' autenticità di alcuni scritti reputati danteschi. Palermo. 31.
- FOERSTER, W., Sulla questione dell' autenticità dei Codici di Arborea. Turin, Clausen. 61.
- FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO. I documenti d' amore secondo i manoscritti originali a cura di F. Egidi. Fasc. iv. Rome, Loescher. 51.
- GUBERNATIS, A. DE, Giovanni Boccaccio. Corso di lezioni. Milan, Libr. edit. nazional. 51.
- HARE, C., Dante the Wayfarer. London, Harper. 10s. 6d. net.
- LECLÈRE, A., Le Mysticisme catholique et l'âme de Dante. Paris, Bloud. 2 fr. 50.
- MANFREDI, P., Cesare Cantù: la biografia ed alcuni scritti inediti o meno noti. Messina, Trimarchi. 41.
- MASI, E., Saggi di storia e critica. Bologna, Zanichelli. 41.
- MOMIGLIANO, F., Giuseppe Mazzini e le idealità moderne. Milan, Libr. edit. Lombarda. 31. 50.
- Novelle antiche dei Codici Panciatichiano, Palatino 138 e Laurenziano-Gaddiano 193. Con una Introduzione sulla Storia esterna del testo del Novellino per G. Biagi. Nuova impressione. Florence, Sansoni. 101.
- SCAETTA, E., La Divina Commedia interpretata colla Storia del diritto italiano. Rocca S. Casciano, Cappelli. 31.
- SCARTAZZINI, G. A., Dantologia: vite e opere di Dante Alighieri. 3^a ediz., con ritocchi e aggiunte di N. Scarano. Milan, Hoepli. 31.
- SETTI, G., La Grecia letteraria nei Pensieri di G. Leopardi. Leghorn. 31. 20.
- TAROZZI, G., Teologia dantesca studiata nel Paradiso. Leghorn. 11.
- WRIGHT, C. G., Dante's Purgatorio, rendered into Spenserian English. London, Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.
- ZARDO, A., G. Zanella nella vita e nelle opere. Florence, Le Monnier. 31.

Spanish.

- AZORIN, La ruta de Don Quijote. Madrid, Biblioteca nacional y extranjera. 3 pes. 50.
- BENEDICTO, J. M., Léxico de Cervantes. Madrid, M. G. Hernández. 1 pes.
- BENOT, E., Estudio acerca de Cervantes y el Quijote. Madrid, Moreno. 2 pes.
- BLÁZQUEZ, A., La Mancha en tiempo de Cervantes. Madrid, Imprenta de Artillería. 1 pes.
- BUCHANAN, M. A., Comedia Famosa del Esclavo del Demonio. Compuesta por el doctor Mira de Mesqua (Barcelona, 1612). Edited with Introduction and Notes. Baltimore, Furst. 1 dol. net.

- CAJAL, S. R., *Psicología de Don Quijote y el Quijotismo*. Madrid, N. Moya. 2 pes.
- CARRERAS Y ARTAU, T., *La filosofía del derecho en el Quijote*. Barcelona, Clos. 5 pes.
- CIROT, G., *Les Histoires Générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II (1284—1556)*. Bordeaux, Feret et Fils. 10 fr.
- CIROT, G., *Mariana Historien (Bibliothèque de la fondation Thiers, VIII)*. Bordeaux, Feret et Fils. 15 fr.
- DESDEVICES DU DEZERT, G., *Notes sur la littérature catalane*. Toulouse, Privat. 2 fr.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R., *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*. Madrid, V. Suárez. 6 pes. 50.
- PUJOL Y ALONSO, J., *Estado social que refleja el Quijote*. Madrid, Imprenta del Asilo de Huerfanos. 5 pes.
- RIUS, L., *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Tomo III*. Madrid, M. Murillo. 20 pes.
- SERRANO Y SANZ, M., *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833*. Madrid, Tip. de la 'Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos.' 2 vols. 40 pes.

Provençal.

- LEVY, E., *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch. Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards Lexique roman*. 19. Heft. Leipzig, Reisland. 4 M.

French.

(a) *General (Language, Dialects)*.

- CHAMINADE, E. ET E. CASSE, *Chansons patoises du Périgord*. Paris, Champion. 2 fr. 50.
- CHANSONNIER NORMAND. *Recueil de chansons normandes du xie siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris, Cartaret. 150 fr.
- CLARETIE, L., *Histoire de la littérature française. Tomes I. et II.: Origines et xvii^e siècle*. Paris, Ollendorff. 15 fr.
- DUCHON, P., *Grammaire et dictionnaire du patois bourbonnais, canton de Varennes*. Paris, Lechevalier. 5 fr.
- PASSY, P., and G. HEMPL, *International French-English and English-French Dictionary*. London, Jack. 7s. 6d.
- SAINÉAN, L., *La création métaphorique en français et en roman. Images tirées du monde des animaux domestiques (Beiheft der Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.)*. Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M.

(b) *Old French and Anglo-Norman*.

- LÖSETH, E., *Le Tristan et le Palamède des manuscrits français du British Museum. Étude critique (Videnstabs-Selskabets Skrifter, II. 4)*. Christiania, Dybwad. 1 kr. 20.
- STEFFENS, G., *Die Lieder des Troveors Perrin von Angicourt. Kritisch herausgegeben (Romanische Bibliothek, 18)*. Halle, Niemeyer. 8 M.
- VISING, J., *La Plainte d'Amour. Poème anglo-normand. Publié pour la première fois*. Göteborg, Zachrisson.
- VORETZSCH, C., *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur im Anschluss an die Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache*. Halle, Niemeyer. 9 M.

(c) *Modern French*.

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- DOUMIC, R., *Lettres d'Elvire à Lamartine*. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr.
- DOWDEN, E., *Michel de Montaigne (French Men of Letters, I.)*. Philadelphia, Lippincott. 1 dol. 50.
- DUPUY, E., *La jeunesse des romantiques, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny*. Paris, Soc. fr. imp. et libr. 3 fr. 50.
- HUGUET, E., *La Couleur, la lumière et l'ombre dans les métaphores de Victor Hugo*. Paris, Hachette. 7 fr. 50.
- MAGNE, E., *Scarron et son milieu*. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.
- MANTZIUS, K., *History of Theatrical Art*. Vol. iv: *Molière and his Times; the Theatre in France in the Seventeenth Century*. Transl. by L. von Cossel. London, Duckworth. 10s. net.
- MEYER, E., *Die Gräfin von Lafayette (Biographien bedeutender Frauen)*. Leipzig, Haberland. 5 M.
- OLIVIER, J. J., *Les Comédiens français dans les cours d'Allemagne au XVIII^e siècle*. 4e. Partie: *La cour du landgrave Frédéric II. de Hesse-Cassel*. Paris, Soc. fr. imp. et lib. 20 fr.
- PATELIN, *The Farce of Master Pierre*. Englished by R. Holbrook. Boston, Houghton Mifflin. 2 dol. net.
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- ROCHEBLAVE, S., *George Sand et sa fille d'après leur correspondance*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy. 3 fr. 50.
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GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

- KRETSCHMER, E., *Ibsens Frauengestalten*. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder. 2 M.
- LASSEN, H., *Selma Lagerlöf og hendes digtning*. Christiania, Det norske Aktieförlag. 2 kr. 75.
- OLSVIG, V., *Om Ludvig Holbergs Epistola ad virum perillustrem. (Siste halvdel af Om Holbergs selvbiografi.)* Christiania, Cappelen. 4 kr.
- STEFFEN, R., *Isländsk och fornvensk Litteratur, i urval*. Stockholm, Norstedt. 3 kr. 25.
- WARBURG, K., *Carl Snoilsky. Hans lefnad och skaldskap*. 1. Hefte. Stockholm. 1 kr.
- WIMMER, L. F. A., *De danske Runemindesmærker, undersøgte og tolkede*. III. Bd.: *Runestenene i Skåne og på Bornholm*. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 40 kr.

English.

(a) *General (Language, Dialects).*

- FARR, J. M., *Intensives and reflexives in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English*. Baltimore, Furst. 1 dol.

- HORN, W., Untersuchungen zur neuenglischen Lautgeschichte (Quellen und Forschungen, 98). Strassburg, Trübner. 2 M. 50.
- JESPERSEN, O., The Growth and Structure of the English Language. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 M.
- OMOND, T. S., Metrical Rhythm. Tunbridge Wells, Pelton. 1s.
- PREVOST, E. W., Supplement to the Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland. London, Frowde. 7s. 6d. net.
- SECCOMBE, T., and W. R. NICOLL, The 'Bookman' History of English Literature. In 12 Parts. Part I. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. net.
- SKEAT, W. W., Primer of Classical and English Philology. London, Frowde. 2s.
- WRIGHT, J., English Dialect Grammar. Comprising the dialects of England, of Shetland and Orkney Islands, and of those parts of Scotland, Ireland and Wales where English is habitually spoken. London, Frowde. 16s. net.

(b) *Old and Middle English.*

- Cynwulf's Elene. Herausgegeben von F. Holthausen (Alt- und mittelenglische Texte, hrsg. von L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen, iv.). Heidelberg, Winter. 2 M.
- Ninian and Machor, The Legends of. From a unique ms. in the Scottish Dialect of the 14th century. Edited by W. M. Metcalfe. Paisley, Gardner. 10s. 6d. net.
- RÖSLER, M., Die Fassungen der Alexiuslegende mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der mittenglischen Versionen (Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Phil., 21). Vienna, Braumüller. 6 M.
- ROUTH, J. E., Two studies on the ballad theory of the Beowulf, together with an introductory sketch of opinion. Baltimore, Furst. 50 c.

(c) *Modern English.*

- AINGER, A., Lectures and Essays. 2 vols. London, Macmillan. 15s. net.
- ANKENBRAND, H., Die Figur des Geistes im Drama der englischen Renaissance (Münchener Beiträge zur roman. und engl. Philologie. Hrsg. von Breymann und Schick, xxxv.). Leipzig, Deichert. 2 M. 60.
- BAESKE, W., Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare (Palaestra, 50). Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 3 M. 60.
- BANG, W., und R. B. MCKERROW, The Enterlude of Youth nebst Fragmenten des Playe of Luces und von Nature (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas, hrsg. von W. Bang, xii.). Louvain, Uystpruyst. 14 fr.
- BEAUMONT, F., and J. FLETCHER, Works. Text edited by A. Glover. I. (Cambridge English Classics). Cambridge, University Press. 4s. 6d. net.
- BIRRELL, A., Andrew Marvell (English Men of Letters). London, Macmillan. 2s. net.
- BROOKE, S. A., On Ten Plays of Shakespeare. London, Constable. 7s. 6d. net.
- BUNYAN, J., Life and Death of Mr Badman and the Holy War. Text edited by J. Brown (Cambridge English Classics). Cambridge, University Press. 4s. 6d. net.
- BURTON, R., Anatomy of Melancholy. New Edition. 3 vols. London, Duckworth. 30s. net.
- CARTER, T., Shakespeare and the Holy Scripture, with the Version he used. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. net.
- CARY, E. L., The Novels of Henry James. A Study. New York, Putnam. 1 dol. 25.
- COURTHOPE, W. J., A History of English Poetry. Vol. v. London, Macmillan. 10s. net.

- CRABBE, G., Poems. Edited by A. W. Ward (Cambridge English Classics). Vol. I. Cambridge, University Press. 4s. 6d. net.
- DAWSON, W. J., Masters of English Fiction. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.
- Early English Dramatists. First Series, Vols. 1—12 (John Heywood, c. 1533 to U. Fulwell, c. 1568, together with 22 anonymous plays). London, Gibbings. 112s. 6d. net.
- EICHLER, A., J. H. Frere, sein Leben und seine Werke (Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Phil., 20). Vienna, Braumüller. 6 M.
- ELTON, O., Michael Drayton; a Critical study; Bibliography. London, Constable. 6s. net.
- FITZGERALD, P., Life of Charles Dickens. 2 vols. London, Chatto and Windus, 21s. net.
- GARTH, The Dispensary. Kritische Ausgabe von W. J. Leicht (Engl. Textbibliothek, hrsg. von J. Hoops, x.). Heidelberg, Winter. 2 M. 40.
- GENÉE, R., William Shakespeare in seinem Werden und Wesen. Berlin, Reimer. 9 M.
- GOSSE, E., Modern English Literature. A Short History. Revised edition. London, Heinemann. 7s. 6d.
- GOSSE, E., Sir Thomas Browne (English Men of Letters). London, Macmillan. 2s. net.
- GREENE, R., Plays and Poems. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. C. Collins. 2 vols. London, Frowde. 18s. net.
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DANTE IN RELATION TO THE SPORTS AND
PASTIMES OF HIS AGE.

I.

FROM the outset it must be confessed that Dante is an inadequate exponent of the sports and pastimes of his age. His references are so scanty that they may be considered barely worth collecting. Yet this very scarcity has an interest, because it sets his reader thinking how it was that Dante, who sings and writes of so many sides of Italian life, should almost pass by in silence those amusements which for the majority of his countrymen made life worth living. It is true that contemporary poets provide even less illustrative material than does Dante, but then Cavalcanti, Guinicelli, Cino and the like, in their sonnets, ballads and *canzoni* bearing mainly upon love, would draw upon sport for the merest commonplace of metaphor, the stock-in-trade of love poets throughout all ages. Fazio Uberti in his *Dittamondo* had better opportunities, especially as in Italy sport like everything else had its peculiar local colouring; but he is too severely geographical to be instructive, though he does supply one of the very few references to quintain. A more promising source might seem to be Francesco da Barberino's *Del Reggimento e de' Costumi delle Donne*. He was an exact contemporary of Dante, and his subject is eminently social. But he is unfortunately too prudish and domestic for our purpose. He even warns his lady pupil that a love for balls is a sign of vanity, of the desire for the praise of strangers, and though he allows her to ride abroad during the Quinquagesima, with or without her husband, she must allow no strange gentlemen to annex themselves to her cavalcade. Above all, she is warned, if a nun, to shun peeping from the windows at the games in the square (*finestre e giuochi di piazza*), and it is precisely these games which we are seeking. In years long later Santa Maddalena de' Pazzi was praised for such avoidance in her early youth, although the too liberal Lasca had expressly recommended peeping. It is possible that if the popular sermons of the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at all resemble those of S. Bernardino in the fifteenth, they might repay the sieve. Chroniclers, of course, are a main resource, but save such born gossips as Salimbene, they say little on social amusements, unless they have, as many indeed did have, a direct connection with public municipal events. The last places, perhaps, where details upon sport would be naturally sought, are the Statutes of the several cities, and yet for one important sport, and that the one which most nearly touches Dante, they prove to be the happiest hunting-ground.

Other sources being so defective, it may seem unfair to expect more from Dante than we get. But his own versatility is to blame for our disappointment. If his poetry and prose are storehouses of theology and philosophy, astronomy, history and geography—if we resort to him for the politics, the personalities, the hatreds, the social abuses of his time—if he has a feeling for natural scenery and for certain forms of animal life that few medieval writers possessed, why may we not also turn to him as an Encyclopaedia of Sport?

The forms of sport or amusement for which illustration might be sought fall under several heads: (1) the natural country sports, fishing, fowling and hunting; (2) artificial competitive sports, racing on horse or foot, or in boats; football and other games of ball; jousting, quintain, and the mimic combats common to many Italian towns; (3) non-competitive amusements of a semi-public character, theatricals grave or gay, and the pastimes provided by professional purveyors, who, like modern merry-go-round proprietors, followed the annual cycle of feasts and fairs from town to town; (4) private pastimes, such as singing, dancing, chess, draughts, and the very numerous and obscure games of chance.

The latter two classes must here be lightly treated. The *Paradiso* is resonant with song, and the spirit dancers throng the heavens. But the dancing, at all events, is too supersensuous for historical earthly use: the solitary human touch is that which describes the movement of a lady's feet:—

Come si volge, con le piante strette
A terra ed intra sè, donna che balli,
E piede innanzi piede a pena mette.

Purg. xxviii. 52.

Dante's intimate knowledge of the music of his time is beyond all doubt¹. The *Convivio* (ii. 14) may be said to contain his theory, and

¹ For a recent work on this subject see *Dante e la Musica* by Arnaldo Bonaventura, Leghorn, 1904, and a review by C. Bellaigue in *Journal des Savants*, May, 1905.

moreover admirably describes the absorption of all the sensitive faculties in that of sound. This absorption finds its practical illustration in *Purgatorio*, ii. 112, where Dante and his master were so content with the dulcet notes of Casella's song that naught else could affect their minds. And as they stood in rapt attention to the strain, the strain which, as Dante confesses, never after left his ears, stern Cato, as many a tutor since, was forced to chide them for their neglect in not following the steep path before them, which was that of duty.

In the *Paradiso*, vii. viii. and x., are to be found passages quite modern on the relation between light and sound, and so the reader is taken back again to the *Convivio*, to the parallel between music and the qualities of heat in the planet Mars. The *Commedia* contains almost every variety of music then known: the songs of Casella, of Matilda and Arnaut, the duet of Peter of Aragon and Charles of Provence, the solo and choir in the *Te lucis ante*, the unison of a hundred voices in the *In Exitu Israel*. In the *Agnus Dei*,

Una parola in tutte era ed un modo
Sì che pareva tra esse ogni concordia.

Purg. xvi. 20.

The glory of the *Paradiso* culminates with the *Ave Maria*, which all the company of the Blessed takes up in chorus. Concerted instrumental music was probably unknown to Dante's age, except perhaps as an adjunct of the dance, but he fully appreciated the accompaniment to the voice, as in *Paradiso*, xx. 142:—

E come a buon cantor buon citarista
Fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
In che più di piacer lo canto acquista,

and in *Purgatorio*, ix. 140:—

E *Te Deum laudamus* mi pareva
Udir in voce mista al dolce suono.
Tale imagine appunto mi rendea
Ciò ch' io udiva, qual prender si suole
Quando a cantar con organi si stea.

Thus Dante is a faithful exponent of the highest musical knowledge of his time. And yet to ascertain the place which music held in life of every day, its domestic graces and its social humours, it might be well to turn to an authority less exalted. Salimbene, the friar chronicler of Parma, brings home the realities of music as a pastime in the ordinary Italian home. Examples of this are his few lines on the domestic concert in the courtyard of a noble Pisan house which he visited while begging for his Order, and again, Fra Vita's light, sweet tenor, so

gladly heard by bishops, archbishops, cardinals and the very Pope—a voice which put to shame the most persistent talker, for at once the phrase of Ecclesiastes went round the room, ‘Do not disturb the music.’ Very real is this Fra Vita, so courteous about singing that he never refused on the plea of sore throat and cold, and belied the long current verses:—

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
Ut nunquam inducant animos cantare rogati.

Then again there was Fra Henry whose voice was better suited for the chamber than the choir, and who upon a time sang so deliciously, that a certain nun who heard him threw herself out of the window to follow, but could not, because in the fall she broke her leg, so that as Ægidius of Perugia well said, ‘It is a great gift not to possess gifts’ (*Magna gratia est non habere gratiam*).

Chess, draughts, ninepins, knucklebones, dice and various games of chance wherein money was won and lost, played a large part in Italian life of Dante’s day. Chess and draughts were lawful, and might be played in public: Sacchetti has several references to this. But many a man was ruined by dicing. Long before Savonarola religious revivals were marked by the destruction of the devil’s playthings. Brunetto Latini warns his readers beyond all things to shun dice: he will have none of the man who throws himself away on that perverting and destructive art. Yet he admits occasional compromise: if you are asked to play as a favour to a friend or a lord, play high, and do not say, ‘I cannot’ (*i’ non posso*); if you lose, look as if it did not cost you anything, and above all do not use bad language. More serious is Orcagna’s lament that a hundred tongues could not tell the tale of his troubles and the ruin of his soul, and of all the cause was that foul hazard (*n’ è cagione la brutta zara*).

Meanwhile Statutes prohibited name by name the various forms of gambling. Those of Pisa in Dante’s time strove at least to save from such profanation the Campo Santo, the Cathedral and its steps. Florentine Statutes were most explicit: ‘Nullus in civitate, comitatu vel districtu Florentiae aliquo tempore, etiam ultima die Aprilis et prima die Maii et qualibet die totius anni ad ludum zarae sive zardi cum taxillis’ (then follow a number of other varieties) ‘ludere audeat nec stare ad videndum ludentes ad aliquem ludum zardi¹.’ The penalty was imprisonment, and before release the culprit must ‘cum aqua baptisari et aqua totus perfundi.’ Such precautions were of course in

¹ *Statuta Populi et Communis Florentiae*, Vol. II. lib. iv. 28.

vain, and even in women a knowledge of games was, as now, regarded as an accomplishment, an asset in the matrimonial market. It tempted, among other attractions, Pino de Gente of Parma in 1285 to lure away his father's *fiancée*. Her name was Beatrix, an Apulian who lived in Ancona, and who 'thesaurum habebat et erat pulchra domina, et alacris, et solatio et liberalis et curialis, et de ludo scaccorum et alearum optime noverat.' So Pino married her, though it is true that he afterwards employed a man to smother her with a bolster. Chess, again, is mentioned by Salimbene as on a level with the legal, ecclesiastical and administrative qualifications of Bishop Opizo of Parma, nephew of Innocent IV. 'Hic fuit litteratus homo maxime in jure Canonico et in ecclesiastico officio valde expertus. Et de ludo scaccorum noverat, et clericos seculares multos tenebat sub baculo.' Yet to all such vices and virtues Dante, I think, makes but one reference—that in *Purgatorio*, vi. 1: 'Quando si parte il giuoco della zara.' Here, however, there is no lack of realism in his description of the winner and the loser, the latter going over his throws again and learning experience by misfortune; the former with his train of parasites, one marching in front, another plucking his robe behind, a third jogging his memory at his side, and he, never stopping, listening to this suitor and to that, defending himself from crushing by stretching out a generous hand so that the recipient may lessen the attendant throng. If Dante did not have a throw himself, he at least brought himself within the arm of the law, and incurred the penalty of total perfusion by looking on.

The amusements included in the third class were incidents of the annual feasts in the greater cities, and of the jousting days held on special occasions. The miracle plays or similar performances were an inveterate custom in every town, and might have lent themselves to such a theme as Dante's. It is known that the Florentine company, which in 1304 performed the Day of Judgement with such disastrously premature consequences to the spectators on the Carraia Bridge, was not a travelling but a stock company, and must have in one year or another reckoned Dante among its onlookers. But of such representations there seems to be no trace in the *Commedia*. Every great festival was attended by professional mimes, mountebanks and musicians in their hundreds. They received rewards almost as high as those reputed to fall until lately to their amateur brethren in Anglo-Indian circles. Brunetto Latini preaches against the waste of money on such triflers. Florentine Statutes forbade their entering the Palazzo Pubblico (Vol. II. lib. iii. 106). These *joculatores* comprised street-singers

of the tales of Roland and Oliver, destined long afterwards to give the death-blow to Dante's popularity, tight-rope dancers, tumblers, jugglers, owners of dogs with a spirit of divination or miraculous insight into character, and performing bears. To the attractions of the latter Dante at least was not blind, for in *Canzone*, xii. 71, is to be found the comparison of the 'Orso quando scherza.' It is possible too that the *bos ephippiatus* and the *porcus balteatus* of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* may be reminiscences of these rollicking Court-days, for the riding of a caparisoned ox was no uncommon feature, and the pig also at times played a serio-comic part, as when in the *piazza* at Venice twelve pigs were annually beheaded with much ceremonial in lieu of the twelve canons of Aquileia.

Another popular frolic was some form of sport with bulls. This was apparently at Rome a bull-fight proper, but elsewhere it was less developed. At Venice the bull was baited by dogs. At Brescia the animal was let loose by a gang of crapulous butchers among the crowd of worshippers during the most solemn procession of the year, a source of exquisite amusement to the lower classes and of righteous disgust to the sober-minded. A *ludus tauri* was, as early as 1276, subsidised by the city of Perugia, while the nuns of Santa Mustiola in Chiusi were bound to supply the bull. There was of course much cruelty to the bull and some danger to the passers by. To some such scenes Dante perhaps refers in the pathetic lines on the fatal wound of the tethered bull in *Inferno*, xii. 22:—

Qual è quel toro che si slaccia in quella
 Che ha ricevuto già 'l colpo mortale,
 Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella,
 Vid' io lo Minotauro far cotale.
 E quegli accorto gridò: Corre al varco;
 Mentre ch' è in furia è buon che tu ti cale.

The practice of masquerading at these festivals, also forbidden by the Florentine Statutes, finds one slight reference in *Paradiso*, xxx. 91:

Poi come gente stata sotto larve
 Che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
 La sembianza non sua in che disparve.

No doubt, moreover, the triumphal car drawn by the Griffin (*Purgatorio*, xxix.), which through Petrarch's *Trionfi* has exercised such an extraordinary influence upon poetry and art, was a glorification of the allegorical chariots which early formed the leading feature of the festival of S. Giovanni at Florence, reaching its artistic climax under the imaginative care of Lorenzo de' Medici.

A delightful paper by Mr H. F. Tozer illustrates Dante's close knowledge of the art of mountaineering¹. Yet though in his wandering life he gained much experience in breasting the flanks of Alps or Apennines, it may be doubted whether he regarded them as his playground. Climbing was probably rather a painful necessity than a pastime or a sport. Nor can his line on a man swimming in the Lambro be taken as a proof that he was fond of bathing. It is, however, far more strange that he should show so little feeling for sport proper, for hunting, that is, and fowling, tastes so universal in his age. Almost all Florentine families, noble or bourgeois, had their estates or little farms in the *contado*, where brake and stream made haunts for beast and fowl, where hunting, fowling, and fishing were features of everyday life. Metaphors from these were so imbedded in the national speech that it would be impossible to avoid them. In Dante, therefore, they are necessarily found, but they are not frequent, though most of the characters whom he introduces must have been constant, if not mighty, hunters and fowlers. Of the two hunting scenes one is the dream of Ugolino, wherein he saw Archbishop Ruggieri as a master of hounds chasing the wolf and its cubs with his lean eager dogs (*Inferno*, xxxiii. 28). The other is the graphic description (*Inferno*, xiii. 112) of Lano and Giacomo della Cappella fleeing from the demons. Here is real hunting life—the rush of the boars and the swish of branches as they burst through the barriers of the wood, behind them the forest full of black hounds breaking away from the confinement of the leash, and fixing their teeth in their prey just as it sought shelter in the brushwood. These references are really all, though the dilemma of the dog between two equidistant does in *Paradiso*, iv., may just be mentioned. The theme would be the richer if we could only quote as Dante's the vivid lines in the Vatican MS. ascribed to him by Mario Pelaez (*Rime antiche italiane*):

Sonar braccetti e chacciator nizzare
 Lepri levare ed isgridar le genti
 E di guinzagli uscir veltri correnti
 Per belle piaggie volger o' nboccone
 Assai credo
 Ke deggia dilectare
 Libero core
 E van d' intendimenti.

Here is proof of the real hunting spirit, and the making of a true hunting song. This leads forward to the fine dithyramb of Niccolò Soldanieri, *I cacciatori della Volpe*, printed in Peticari's *Difesa di*

¹ See *Modern Language Quarterly*, i. 274 ff.

Dante (*Opere*, I. 317), and to a very similar fourteenth century poem on stag-hunting of unknown authorship, published by Trucchi, with equally spirited lines on fowling and fishing—the latter curiously modern in character and a rare example. Direct from such parentage spring the verses of Lorenzo de' Medici, *La caccia di falcone*, which are the sunniest reflection of golden sporting days in Tuscany.

Dante's references to fowling are more numerous than those accorded to hunting. 'In vain,' he writes, in *Purgatorio*, xxxi., 'in the sight of full-fledged birds is the net spread or the arrow aimed.' Geryon, in *Inferno* xvii., is compared to the falcon descending sulkily without its prey, while in xxii. is the elaborate comparison of the Navarrese jobber with a duck which plunges as the falcon stoops, and then the fight between the demons in which Alichino fixes his claws, like a sparrowhawk, in his fellow devil. *Paradiso*, xix., contributes the pretty simile of the falcon, when its hood is withdrawn, moving its head and clapping its wings, pruning itself and showing its readiness for flight. This, however, is rather to be classed with passages illustrating Dante's wonderful feeling for bird life—the lark rising and the rooks, the bird waiting for the dawn, the stork circling round its nest, the low flight of the swallows, and the soaring of the kite. But we must not forget the picture where Dante compares himself as he gazed through the green foliage to the man who wastes his time in pursuit of small birds (*Purgatorio*, xxii.), nor the comparison of the whirling spheres to the falconer's lure, followed by the lines on the falcon looking to earth, then turning at the master's cry, extending itself in flight after its quarry (*Purgatorio*, xix.), nor again the bird netted by the snarer's call (*Inferno*, iii.). These examples suffice to show that the poet, if no keen sportsman, was not untouched by the most picturesque of sports. Yet we could wish for more, and poets contemporary, or earlier, give us more. As instances may be cited the spirited sonnets of Folgore da San Gemignano on hunting and hawking for the months of February, September, and October, and better still, perhaps, those for Friday and Saturday in his sonnets for the week. And even Dante in his love for bird life can hardly outdo the song of the anonymous lady who lost her falcon, the pathos of which is quite Catullian:

Tapina me che amavo uno sparviero,
 Amavol' tanto, ch' io me ne moria
 A lo richiamo ben m' era maniero
 Ed unque troppo pascere no 'l dovía.
 Or è montato e salito sí altero
 Ed è assiso dentro a un verziere,
 E un' altra donna l' averà in balía.

I sparvier mio ch' io t' avea nodrito
 Sonaglio d' oro ti facea portare
 Perchè nel uccellar fussi più ardito.
 Or sei salito siccome lo mare
 Ed ai volto li geti e sei fuggito
 Quando eri fermo nel tuo uccellare.

E. LEVI, *Lirica antica italiana* (1905).

It is noticeable that in these few references to hunting and fowling there is no mention of a horse. This animal apparently did not appeal to Dante. When mentioned at all it is almost always in metaphor, and is then represented as a vicious, troublesome brute. There are no touches, such as might be expected from his love of animal life, on the turn of the head, the prick of the ears, the sleekness of skin, and the grace of movement. The very name occurs perhaps not more than some ten times in the whole of Dante's poetry and prose, and this is extraordinary if the importance of the horse in medieval economy be considered. The three most elaborate passages relate to the fractious character which requires governance. In the celebrated lines on German Albert Italy is the *fiera fella* which has not been tamed by the spur, an idea which is repeated in *Convivio* iv., where the Emperor is figured as the 'Cavalcatore della umana volontà, lo qual cavallo come vada senza il cavalcatore per lo campo assai è manifesto, e spezialmente nella misera Italia che senza mezzo alcuno alla sua governazione è rimasa.' So also in *Convivio*, iii. the man is more praiseworthy who curbs a naturally bad character against the impulses of nature, just as he is the finer rider who controls a vicious horse, while in *Convivio*, iv. 26, is found the comparison of appetite to a riderless horse, which, even if it be of noble nature, goes ill without the guidance of the fine rider with rein and spur. Among mere mentions of the horse may be cited from *Convivio*, iv. those who spend ill-gotten gains on banquets, horses and arms; the children who desire first an apple, then a bird, then fine raiment, then a horse, and finally a lady-love; the ecclesiastics whose flowing mantles cover their palfreys so that two beasts jog along under a single skin. We might suspect that Dante never possessed a horse, or even rode one, unless we are to take as fact the line in the *Vita Nuova*, ii.: 'Cavalcando l' altr' ier per un cammino,' or as real regret the cry against 'inopina paupertas,' which 'velut effera persecutrix, equis armisque vacantem, jam suae captivitatis me detrussit in antrum' (Letter ii., to the Counts of Romena).

It may be thought marvellous that there does not seem to be a single reference in all Dante to any of the games of ball for which Italy became famous. Homer has proved that the theme is not unpoetic,

but Dante's Beatrice was no Nausicaa. It is difficult, however, to find an honest test of Dante's deficiencies, because his contemporaries are equally silent. Statutes forbid the playing of ball against this or that monastery wall, but there is no evidence to show the stage of evolution which the game had reached. A century later there are frequent references, and by yet another century differentiation had produced numerous forms. Rinuccini mentions several kinds of fives or racquets played along the blind walls of Florence. Only gradually had the great triad of Italian ball-games, *calcio*, *pallone*, and *palla maglia*, emerged. Mr Heywood in his recent book, *Palio and Ponte*, states his belief that *calcio* and *pallone*, utterly distinct as they became, were developed from a common simple type into the highly elaborate games of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This might account for several peculiarities in the two games. The wall on one side of the ground or court remained a feature in both. In Italian football the whole end of the ground was, as in the Winchester game, the goal, while in *pallone* the most successful stroke is one that clears the back line—which may possibly have kinship with the 'shy' in the Eton wall-game. In both *calcio* and *pallone* the ball was bounced into the ground by a neutral, as in the old English game of 'hurling.' Moreover the ball in *calcio* was known by the names *pallone*, *palla grossa*, *palla gonfiata*—our balloon or wind-ball. That now used in *pallone* is quite unlike those of tennis or racquets, for it is made of leather, distended by pneumatic pressure, and is of considerable size, some fifteen inches in diameter. Again *pallone* in the fifteenth century was not played, as now, by three a side, but by considerable numbers, and speed was highly valued. In *calcio* apparently the ball might be 'dribbled,' carried, and above all, hit with the fist. Venice, however, peculiar in this as in all else, is said to have played a strict 'Association' game, the use of hands and arms being disallowed. It is certain that *calcio* was an old game in Italy, and that is all that can be said of early days. S. Bernardino advised ladies to withdraw from the windows when it was played, not as might be prudishly recommended now, because the players wore shorts, but because they did not. In Dante's own city football has quite an interesting history. S. Antonino broke his arm at it, 'dum luderet ludo pilae inflatae quae dicitur palla grossa fregerat sibi brachium.' Young Piero de' Medici shocked graver opinion by playing it in the streets when he should have been attending to affairs of state, and this contributed to his fall. A few years later ill-starred Filippo Strozzi, one of the leading young bloods of the day, describes a game at Naples, twenty-three a side, grey and rose stripes

against yellow and white, in which Antonio Gondi broke his ankle. Filippo's sons were later taken up by the police for playing a disorderly game through the streets of Florence on Christmas Eve, in the course of which they spoiled a large quantity of Christmas goods displayed for show, and finally kicked the muddy ball against a choleric member of the Ministry of Justice. Their half-brother, the afterwards celebrated Leone Strozzi, made an ineffectual attempt to rescue them from the constables. During the siege of Florence in 1527 the youth played twenty-five a side in full costume on the Piazza S^{ta} Croce, with a band on an adjoining house to call the enemy's attention to their bravado. A parallel to this was a game of *pallone* which two bands of young men played at Siena during the siege of 1555 for two hours or more, while the French officers looking on, 'si stupivano delle nostre pazzie.' This was followed by a game of *pugna* at which Monluc nearly wept for joy to see such spirit, but of this sport more hereafter.

Football then was no mere vulgar amusement, and in comparatively early times stood high in Florentine affections, though Alamanno Rinuccini states that in the middle of the seventeenth century it was only played by boys, whereas he could remember bearded men taking part therein¹. The farther it went back, the rougher it probably was, resembling the games still played at Dorking or Derby or Corfe Castle on Shrove Tuesday, and doubtless the *rageries de grosses pelotes* of Dante's own age in London, against which Edward II. in 1314 legislated with small effect². Yet of all this Dante is completely silent! Surely a writer who descanted upon Hell without a solitary mention of football can scarcely be acquitted of wasted opportunity.

Even more violent and perhaps more picturesque than football were the mimic combats of immemorial antiquity in several Italian cities³. These were battles deliberately fought on stated festivals between different quarters of a town. The combatants commonly used staves or else their shields as offensive weapons, while the light-armed were employed as stone-throwers. The defensive armour was often elaborately composed of wicker and padding, but casualties were invariable, and fatal accidents not uncommon. The battle of the Bridge of Pisa

¹ Bologna, still the chief centre of *pallone*, can boast respectable antiquity for its 'wall-game,' *ludus pallæ coreæ ad spondam muri*, which was always played along a particular line of houses. This is incidentally mentioned in a law-suit of 1435, while on August 5, 1580, Giovanni Bentivoglio patronised a match of Greens versus Yellows, fifty a side. Just a century later football was forbidden, as provoking quarrels and fights among the gentry. (L. Frati, *La Vita privata di Bologna dal secolo xiii. al xvii.* 1900.)

² Quoted by Mr Shearman in his *History of Football*.

³ On this subject little can be added to Mr Heywood's admirable account in his *Palio and Ponte*.

was the most celebrated survival of this game. In Dante's time this was played, not on the bridge, but in the piazza, and he must probably have seen it, for it was a usual day out for Florentine holiday-makers, at least for blind beggars and their dogs. Ungratefully enough when Pisa was forced to surrender in 1406, the Florentines even disarmed these innocent, if brutal, athletes of their clubs and shields. The revival of the sport, and its transference from the piazza to the bridge, has been attributed to Lorenzo de' Medici, who did his utmost to quicken Pisa into new social and economic life. The game was also played at Gubbio, at Orvieto, where it was known as *Prelum de lapidibus* and lasted from All Saints Day to the beginning of Lent, and at Perugia, where it was singularly persistent under the name of *Battaglia de' Sassi*. Here in 1372, writes Mr Heywood, the Papal Vicar strove to suppress it, and this was actually effected by S. Bernardino, though only for a time. It is noticeable that the first game of the year was played on the feast of the local saint, S. Ercolano, at government expense. At Perugia, and probably elsewhere, it became an incident in the serious fight between Guelfs and Ghibellines. This was natural enough, because the two factions here, as at Brescia and elsewhere, predominated in separate quarters.

At Bologna a similar game, the *ludus graticulorum*, in which one party was armed with sticks and the other with baskets of eggs as missiles, was prohibited as early as 1306. The Sienese Statutes of 1309-10 mention this combat under the name of *Elmora*, and documentary evidence of its existence goes back to 1253. A peculiarly bloodthirsty fight took place in Dante's age, in 1318. The custom was apparently continued without much interruption, for a game was played in honour of Charles V. in 1536, while another delighted the French garrison in the last agonies of the siege. At Florence the game was very old, but few details are known of it. The Statutes of 1415 (Book IV. 39) strenuously forbid citizens, of whatever condition, either to play at, or be spectators of, the *bellum de mazzis*, or to join in the stone-throwing which accompanied it. But survivals are found in the organised stone-throwing by boys, especially at certain seasons. Even Savonarola only succeeded in suppressing them for a season, by substituting raids on their neighbours' fineries. The custom was not confined to Tuscany and Umbria. At Venice two districts long fought each other on the bridges, originally with stout bamboos, and since 1292 with sticks¹. One of these combats was held in honour of

¹ P. Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella Vita privata* (ed. 1905), I. 204.

Henry III.'s passage through the town on his way from Poland to France.

Salimbene mentions as a landmark the open ground outside the gates, where the fight was habitually held at Parma. By far the most elaborate of the early accounts is that contained in the *De Laudibus Paviae*, written about 1330; this describes in some detail the *Battiolae* between North and South, which lasted from New Year's Day to Lent¹. Yet of these games once so common, and so frequently mentioned alike in law and history, I have found no mention in Dante, nor, indeed, in any *litterae humaniores* at all contemporary. The absence of all reference is the stranger, as these combats were closely connected with the chief religious festivals of the city, often with that of the patron Saint: they were frequently subsidised by the municipal government, and the opening game of the season was as integral a part of the festival as the procession and the offerings of tapers and *palii* on the part of subject communes and feudatory nobles. And when the festival was over, these games were continued for some months, so that they formed no inconsiderable a feature in medieval Italian life.

Far otherwise is it with the more aristocratic jousts and tournaments, and the graceful evolutions on horseback included under the term *hastiludia*. Every Italian dynasty on occasion of a marriage, a birth, or some social or political event, held a *Corte bandita* to which were invited nobles from all parts of Italy, and invariably associated with this *Corte* was the ceremony of conferring knighthood. Even the republics—Florence, for instance, and in Dante's day—held similar festivals, though there were not the same frequent occasions provided by birth or marriage: in republican Italy the wives and daughters of temporary presidents did not pose as princesses. Chief among the entertainments were of course the tournament and joust. It is needless to say that these were not characteristically Italian. An early case is mentioned at Bologna in 1147, when it is stated that the sport was introduced from Saxony. It is certain that the fashion was greatly stimulated in the second half of the thirteenth century by Charles of Anjou. More specifically Italian, perhaps, were the *hastiludia*, a phrase which sometimes comprised the others, but more strictly connoted the display of horsemanship and skill in handling arms, recalling the celebrated scene in Virgil, and known to much later times as Troy game. The *hastiludia* occasionally degenerated into buffoonery, as when at Parma the young gentry, dressed as women, skirmished on

¹ Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, xi. 22.

horseback through the town the whole night long, their faces covered with whitened masks. This, however, Salimbene, though no prude, regarded as indelicate, and, indeed, the men of Parma, as he tells us, spent all their time and substance on variety entertainers, actors, and the like. More frequently these evolutions were performed in compliment, as when in 1282 the Bolognese knights manœuvred round the *carroccio* of Parma on the *piazza* of Cremona, thinking to do the Parmesans a pleasure.

Most chroniclers have references to these high festivals, the most celebrated of which in Dante's time was given in honour of the marriage of Beatrice d' Este to Galeazzo Visconti. Dante regarded this as a *mésalliance* for the widowed lady, but her late husband, the Judge of Gallura, could not have bettered this splendid festival, the sensation of the day, the talk of all Italy. So deeply imbedded in the thought and language of upper-class Italy were the ceremony of knighthood and the feats of arms connected with it, that even in the lightest love poetry metaphors from the lists are frequent. For the nearest approach to actual description recourse must again be had to Folgore da San Gemignano in his verses on May, thus translated by Rossetti:

I give you horses for your games in May,
 And all of them well train'd unto the course,—
 Each docile, swift, erect, a goodly horse;
 With armour on their chests, and bells at play
 Between their brows, and pennons fair and gay;
 Fine nets and housings meet for warriors,
 Emblazon'd with the shields ye claim for yours,
 Gules, argent, or, all dizzy at noon-day.
 And spears shall split, and fruit go flying up
 In merry counterchange for wreaths that drop
 From balconies and casements far above;
 And tender damsels with young men and youths
 Shall kiss together on the cheeks and mouths;
 And every day be glad with joyful love.

Probably every gentleman that Dante knew, and most of his acquaintances in *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, belonged to this class, must have taken part in these contests or displays. Yet his references are few. The most distinct which I can recall is in *Inferno*, xxii. 9, a curious passage, because it seems to confound real acts of war in the territory of hostile Arezzo with the *ferir torneamenti e correr giostra*, which were their mimic representatives. In *Inferno*, vii. 34–5, the shock of the avaricious and the prodigal is a metaphor taken from the lists:—

Poi si volgea ciascun, quand' era giunto,
 Per lo suo mezzo cerchio, all' altra giostra.

Aquarone in his *Dante in Siena* believes that the *giostre del Toppo*, which are thrown in Lano's teeth, contain a reference to the tournaments of the *brigata spendevaccia* in Siena, extravagance in which led to Lano's self-sought death at Piere al Toppo. A passage in *Convivio* iv. 27, supplies a hint that Dante disapproved of the extravagance of these despots' Court-days, wherein the money wrung from the poor is squandered on banquets, gifts of horses, arms, raiment and largess—a passage recalled a little later by Coluccio Salutati's reproof to Petrarch for his presence at Violante Visconti's wedding-feast in the midst of a starving Lombardy, a reproof emphasised by its conclusion that the gout from which the poet was suffering served him right.

It may be due to this indignation with the abuses of his age, from this want of sympathy with its pleasures, that Dante fails to leave any impression of Court life, to which, after all, he was no stranger. No dynasty was more lavish in its Court-days than that of Scala, and even that of Polenta did not shrink from wasting the substance of others in the glorification of itself. The whole works of Dante, poetic or prosaic, give no such picture of a great Italian Court as the single short phonographic description of the hum and buzz, the jangle and the babel of the palace of Can Grande, in the *Bisbidis* of Dante's friend, Manuel the Jew¹.

EDWARD ARMSTRONG.

¹ Mario Pelaez, *Rime antiche italiane*. (Collezione di opere inedite o rare, edited by G. Carducci, 1895.)

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

THE object of the following notes is

- (1) to offer some help towards removing the doubts expressed by the authors of the *N. E. D.* concerning a few uncertain derivations;
- (2) to suggest what may be more likely derivations;
- (3) to adduce earlier instances of E. words.

Inserted between [] are here given the etymological remarks of the *N. E. D.* or such extracts from them as it has appeared expedient to place by the side of the new suggestions.

Accessory, 1618 [ad. late Lat. *accessori- us*]**—A. F.** *accessorie*, 1309, Y.-Bks Edw. II. Selden Soc. II. p. 138.

Adjection, c. 1374, in form *adieccioun* [ad. L. *adjection- em*]**—A. F.** *adjeccion*, 1342, Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 365.

Adjutory, adj. 1612, sb. c. 1505 [ad. L. *adjutori- us*]**—A. F.** *adjutoire*, ? 13th c. *Das Adamspiel*, Halle, 1891, I. 38.

Apportionment, 1628 [f. *apportion + ment*; also in med. L. *apportionamentum* and F. *apportionnement*]**—A. F.** *apporcionement*, 1342, Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 483.

Attempter, 1580 [f. *attempt + er*; or a. O. F. (14th c.) *attempteur*]**—attempteur**, 1449. *Second écrit des ambassadeurs anglais*. Rolls Series, 32, p. 479.

Budge, a kind of fur, 1382 [etym. obsc.].**—Bogee** occurs in an A. F. context, 13–14th c., in *Le Domesday de Gippewyz*, Rolls Series, 55, p. 190.

Bull, a papal edict, 1297, a seal, 1340 [ad. L. *bullā*]**—A. F.** *bulle*, a seal, c. 1245. Puis al escrit fu fait guarant U la *bulle* de soie pent. *La Estoire de S. Edward le Rei*, Rolls Series, 3, II. 1612–3.

Conspiracy, 1386 [f. Lat. *conspiratio*, with substitution of the ending *-acy*. A single ex. of *conspiratie* in 16th c. French is given by Godef.]**—A. F.** *conspiracie*, 1308–9, Y.-Bks Edw. II. Selden Soc. I. p. 155.

Cottage, c. 1386 [app. a. A. F. **cotage*. O. F. had *cotage* as a term of feudal law in the sense of base tenure]—A. F. **cotage**, 1308–9, in a sense not recorded in *N.E.D.*: Il ount perdu *cotage* et terrage. Y.-Bks Edw. II. Selden Soc. II. p. 72.

Coursable, a. 1455 [a. F. *coursable* current (Cotgr.) ? That may have course.]—A. F. **coursable** 1419, Voet le Roy et commande qe desormes nulle femme *coursable* (= puteyn) demurge deinz les mures de la citee. *Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, p. 283. The quotation may be of use in elucidating the sense of the obscure word, which seems to be ‘common.’

Cozen [derivation uncertain. Cf. the phrase ‘to make a cousin of’ ? to beguile, deceive...]—O. F. **cosin**, a dupe: Son mari lui rendra la chose telle comme elle lui bailla, combien qu’il en demorast toujours le *cousin*, in Godefroy.

Crush, 1398 [app. a. O. F. *croissir*,... sometimes *cruis(s)ir*; in Cotgr. 1611]—A. F. **cruissir** or *cruisser*, 1174–83. Li fer tentissent, e *cruissent* li acier. *Chronique de Jordan Fantosme*, Rolls Series, 82, III. l. 650.

Cumber, vb., c. 1300. [Its early derivatives...all suppose for it a F. derivation. ? Aphetic for *encumber*, *acumber*. But appears earlier. Godefroy cites O. F. *combrer* in the sense of *couvrir* ‘to lay hold of, take.’]—O. F. *conbre* occurs as a variant of *comble* in ‘ma matiere est *conbre*,’ *Robert le Diable*, Anciens Textes français, 49, l. 3031. Also, O. F. *combrer* = *combler*, in ‘...quer *combré* trova le passage.’ *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, Société de l’Histoire de France, l. 15772. A. F. *coumble*, a substantive in ‘venelles...nettez saunz *coumble* de fiens et de ordure,’ *Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, p. 288, obs. E. *cumble*, accumulation, *rare*, suggests the variant **coumbre*, **cumbre*. Are not E. *cumble* and E. *cumber*, both meaning ‘benumb with cold,’ two different forms of one and the same word? In French *se combler* occurs in ‘Le cheval...se *combla* des pieds de devant et cheut’ in Littré’s *historique* s.v. *combler*, and in Godefroy, a solitary instance, where the meaning ‘to stumble’ is not very far from that of E. ‘be cumbered,’ = ‘be held fast, as in a slough.’

Dab, fish, 1577 [Etym. unknown]—**Dabbe**, 1419, occurs in an A. F. context in: nief qe meisne *dabbes*, *Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, 12–1, p. 236.

Demean, sb., c. 1450 [f. *demean*, vb.]—**Demene**, 1449: au *demene* des matieres de leur dite charge ou commission, *Premier écrit des ambassadeurs anglais*, Rolls Series, 32, p. 438.

Demise, sb., 1509 [app. of A. F. origin]—A. F. **dimise**, 1308-9. Y.-Bks Edw. II. Selden Soc. I. 68.

Direct, vb., c. 1374 [f. L. *direct-*, ppl. stem of *dirigere*]—A. F. **directer**, 1342 in: et le bref est *directe* al Vicounte de Wiltescire (translated 'directed'). Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 299.

Dispatchment, 1529 [*dispatch* + *ment*]—**Despechment**, 1449, *Premier écrit des ambassadeurs anglais*, Rolls Series, 32, p. 459; also in Godef. *Lex.* But the *N. E. D.* refers the vb. *dispatch* to an Ital. or Span. source, observing that [the date of the 1st quotation, 1517, is early for a word from Italian, and still more so for a word from Spanish. But, F. *empêcher*, *depêcher*, in 16th c. also *despecher*, gave E. *impeach*, *depeach*, also *despeche*, in Caxton *depesshe*]. Yet, besides *impeache*, *impeche*, is there not Scotch *impatshe*? This form, it is true, according to the *N. E. D.* 'reflects Ital. *impacciare*.' May not E. *dispatch* represent F. *despesche*, as E. *match* represents F. *mesche*, *meiche*?

Drunkard, 1530 [*drunk* + *ard*], occurs first in form *droncarde*—Flemish *dronkaerd*, whence F. **dronquart**, 1521, in Godefroy.

Eject, ppl., 1432-50 [ad. L. *eject-us*]—A. F. **eject**, 15th c. in Godefroy who cites Littleton, 15th c. It is F. refashioned on Latin. In the same manner A. F. *engetter*, *engeter*, is Englished as *eject*, 1570-6, and *engettement* as *ejectment*, 1567.

Embull, in-, 1432 [*en-*, *in-* + *bull*]—A. F. **enbuller**, 1245, in 'ke eit *enbulle* privilege,' *La Estoire S. Edward le Rei*. Rolls Series, 3, I. 2284, and 'enregistré e *enbullé*,' ib. I. 2475.

Enangle,? a. 1400 [*en* + *angle*]—O. F. **enangler**, 12-13th c., *Guillaume le Maréchal*. Soc. de l'Hist. de France, I. 10103.

Entangle, 1540 [*en* + *tangle*]—A. F. **entangler**, 1342, in 'grantent qe mesme cele volente ou ces successeurs de cel hour en avant ne serrount mye empechez *nentanglez* par eux.' Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 125.

Entertainment, 16th c. [*entertain* + *ment*]—**Entretenement**, 1449, *Premier écrit des ambassadeurs anglais*, Rolls, 32. F. *entretenement*, Communes, II. 57. Ed. by B. de Mandrot, Paris 1901.

Founder, sb., 1303 [*found* + *er*. Cf. O. F. *fondeor*, *-eur*]—A. F. **fundur**, c. 1245 in 'De plusur musters *fundur*,' *La Est. S. Edw. le rei*. Rolls Series, 3, I. 2526. Also, 1342, in Y.-Bks of Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II.

Garnishment, 1550; a legal notice, 1585 [*garnish* + *ment*. Cf. M. Du. *garnissement*, perhaps from an unrecorded O. F. word]—A. F. **garnissement**, 1342, in legal sense, Y.-Bks of Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 272.

Induction, c. 1380, ecclesiastical [a. F. *induction* (14th c.) or a. L. *induction-em*—A. F. **induccion**, 1342, 'le presentour deit faire *induccion*.' Y.-Bks of Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 395.

Infractor, 1524 [a. med. L....Cf. F. *infracteur* (1419 in Godef. *Compl.*)]—**Infracteur**, 1449, 'Il est *infracteur* de treve.' *Premier écrit des ambass. anglais*, Rolls, 32, p. 458.

Interrupt, 15th c. [f. Lat.]—A. F. **interrupter**, 1308, in 'nient *interrupté*.' Y.-Bks Edw. II. Selden Soc. I. p. 29.

Intruse, vb., c. 1470 [f. Lat.]—A. F. **entruser** (s'), 1342, in 'et puis le pere *sentrusa* et disseisi lenfaunt.' Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 51.

Inunction, **en-**, 1483 [ad. Lat.]—A. F. **enuncciun**, a. 1245 in 'dediement *Enuncciun* e vestement.' *La Estoire de S. Edw. le Rei*. Rolls 3, I. 2170, also II. 3920 and 3925.

Inundation, 1432–50 [ad. Lat....O. F. had *inundacion* in 12–14th c. (perhaps the immed. source)]—A. F. **inundacion**, 1342. Y.-Bks Edw. III. Rolls Series, 31, II. p. 399.

Lieutenancy, also *lieutenance*, 1450 [*lieutenant* + *ancy*]—A. F. **lieutenance**, 1449, Rolls Series, 32, p. 443.

Litmus, a blue colouring matter, 1502 [altered from M. Du. *leecmos*]—A. F. **lytemoise**, 1419. *Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, 12, I. p. 238.

Quitter, *quittor*, pus, matter, 1297 [perh. a. O. F. *quiture*, *cuiture*, but app. not recorded in the specific sense of the E. word]—A. F. **quiture**, c. 1245, has this sense: De ses boces la *quiture* Desent par vostre vesture, *La Est. S. Edw.* I. 1981–2; En col nues [? unes] glandres out, K'em escrovele numer seout Tournees sunt a pureture Arancle e emfle e a *quiture*, Ib. I. 2612–5; Issent verms de la *quiture*, Ib. I. 2670.

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

SHAKESPEARE'S GHOSTS.

THE dramatic ghost, whose progress through the pre-Shakespearean drama has already been traced¹, underwent, at the hands of Shakespeare himself, considerable modification. Whereas, in the plays of his predecessors, the ghost was a mere machine, a voice mouthing vengeance, it now became endowed with personality. The Shakespearean ghost, as Lessing declared in a memorable passage of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, is 'eine wirklich handelnde Person.' It is 'no longer a phantom roaming in the cold, evoked from Erebus to hover round the actors in a tragedy, but a spirit of like intellectual substance with these actors, a parcel of the universe in which all live and move and have their being².' In accomplishing this change, Shakespeare stripped the ghost of its 'foul sheet' and 'leather pilch,' and arrayed it in the garb which it had worn before mortality had been put off; while, for the gibberings of the tortures of Tantalus in which the earlier Senecan ghosts had taken delight, he substituted the ghost-beliefs current in England in his own time. Nor was this all. In making the ghost more human, Shakespeare, at the same time, gave to it a spiritual significance of which his predecessors had but a very faint conception. The Shakespearean ghost is at once the embodiment of remorseful presentiment and the instrument of divine justice.

The ghost seems to have fascinated Shakespeare already at the outset of his career. There are several references to ghost-lore in *Henry VI*, while in his early love-tragedy, *Juliet*, after the tidings of Tybalt's death have been brought to her, exclaims,

O, look! methinks I see my cousin's ghost
Seeking out Romeo, that did spit his body
Upon a rapier's point.

Act iv, sc. iii.

With the appearance of *Richard III*, ghosts take their place among the actors of the play. In making the ghosts of Richard's victims

¹ See *Modern Language Review*, January, 1906 (I, 89 ff.).

² J. A. Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, London, 1884.

confront him in his sleep on the eve of Bosworth Field, Shakespeare was following the suggestions of his predecessors. Thus in Segar's story of the 'tragical life and death of Richard III' in *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1563), the unhappy king declares:

I thought that all those murdered ghosts, whom I
By death had sent to their untimely grave,
With balefull noise about my tent did crie,
And of the heav'ns with sad complaint did crave,
That they on guiltie wretch might vengeance have:
To whom I thought the Judge of heav'n gave eare,
And gainst me gave a judgment full of feare¹.

In *The True Tragedie of Richard III* the same thought reappears:

Richard. Meethinkes their ghoasts come gaping for revenge,
Whom I have slaine in reaching for a Crowne;
Clarence complaines and crieth for revenge.
My Nephues bloods, Revenge, revenge, doth crie.
The headlesse Peeres come preasing for revenge.
And every one cries, let the tyrant die².

Shakespeare goes beyond the author of the *True Tragedie*, and substitutes dramatic action for narrative. He makes the ghosts actually appear, and places words on their lips. These ghosts of Richard's victims are Senecan in character, in that they are represented as spirits of vengeance, but they depart from Seneca's manner in making absolutely no reference to the under-world of classic mythology. For all this, Shakespeare substitutes a superstition drawn from native ghost-lore; at the ghosts' approach, Richard tells us, 'the lights burn blue.' Moreover, these ghosts are something more than spirits of vengeance. They are conceived by Shakespeare as the instruments of that primeval, amorphous power of Nemesis which will not let the criminal triumph in his wickedness, but demands an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In so early a tragedy as Cinthio's *Orbecche*, 'Nemesi, Dea,' appears in the list of *dramatis personae*; in Shakespeare's plays there is no goddess called Nemesis, but as an unseen force, guiding the issues of the drama, her influence makes itself felt again and again. The ghosts of Richard's victims are forces which sap his courage: he sees in them the voices of a 'coward conscience,' and they send him to the fight with Richmond unnerved and unmanned. The appearance of the ghosts to Richmond is a further development of the Nemesis idea. Shakespeare drew no warrant for this from his sources, but felt that the words of good cheer which the ghosts utter to

¹ Higgins's *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, 1815.

² *The True Tragedie of Richard III*, ed. Barron Field (Shakespeare Society Publications).

Richmond were the needful complement to the message of woe which they bring to Richard.

In the plots of the comedies and histories of Shakespeare's middle period there is no ghostly intervention. That Shakespeare, however, still recognised the dramatic value of ghost-lore is proved by occasional references to it in these plays. Thus the disconsolate Richard II, talking of 'graves and worms and epitaphs,' would fain tell his followers sad stories of the death of kings:

How some have been deposed, some slain in war,
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed ;
Some poison'd by their wives ; some sleeping kill'd ;
All murdered.

Richard II, Act III, sc. ii.

Again, in 2 *Henry IV*, Lady Percy, reproaching Northumberland for his neglect of Hotspur at the battle of Shrewsbury, exclaims :

Never, O never, do his ghost the wrong
To hold your honour more precise and nice
With others than with him !

Act II, sc. iii.

But the ghost is primarily a tragic figure, and it is, accordingly, to Shakespeare's tragedies that we turn to find the character and function of the Shakespearean ghost fully developed.

The ghost of Julius Caesar that appears to Brutus in his tent at Sardis makes a greater demand upon our credulity than those of Richard's victims. The latter, though by the playwright's licence they are seen and heard by the spectators, are, like the ghost of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, sleep-phantoms; the ghost of Caesar, on the other hand, appears to Brutus as he is reading in his tent. Yet there is much to show that Shakespeare permits us to regard this ghostly visitation as the hallucination of an overwrought mind ; for no sooner does Brutus recover from the trepidation into which the ghost's sudden appearance has cast him, than it vanishes :

Brutus. Why, I will see thee at Philippi then. [*Exit Ghost*.
Now I have taken heart thou vanishest.
Ill spirit, I would hold more talk with thee.

Act IV, sc. iii.

In *Julius Caesar*, as in *Richard III*, Shakespeare found in his sources the suggestion for ghostly intervention, and subjected the borrowed idea to characteristic and significant modification. In Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* the story of the ghost is as follows : 'So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late, as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters: he thought he heard one

come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked What he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him, I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi. Brutus, being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: Well, then I shall see thee again. The spirit presently vanished away, and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all.' Neither here, nor in Plutarch's account of the conversation as to the meaning of the apparition which Brutus holds with Cassius on the following morning, is there any suggestion that the 'wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body' is the ghost of the murdered Caesar. This is Shakespeare's addition, and in making it, he brings the scene into line with that of *Richard III*; in either case, it is the ghost of the murdered man appearing to the murderer. He retains Plutarch's words, 'I am thy evil spirit, Brutus,' but, in the light of the fact that the ghost is Caesar's ghost, these words acquire a new and bodeful significance. The spirit of Caesar is the embodiment of Brutus's sense of the failure and impending ruin of his cause. There is, accordingly, a sinister meaning in the ghost's declaration that Brutus shall see him again at Philippi, and Brutus himself informs us that its reappearance is regarded by him as a token that his hour is come:

The ghost of Caesar hath appear'd to me
Two several times by night, at Sardis once,
And this last night here in Philippi fields:
I know my hour is come.

Act v, sc. v.

The points of affinity which the ghost of Banquo bears to that of Caesar prompt me to take it out of its chronological order and consider it here. Unlike Shakespeare's other ghosts, it is the pure creation of his genius, without support from his sources. A ghost is demanded in *Macbeth* by virtue of the peculiar constitution of the ghost-seer's mind. The hectic imagination of the Celtic chieftain, which conjures up the air-drawn dagger and the voice crying, 'Sleep no more, Macbeth doth murder sleep,' evokes by inward necessity the ghost of the murdered Banquo. The reality of this ghost is scarcely impaired by the fact that it utters no words. It is silent, just because, to one of Macbeth's temperament, silence is far more appalling than speech; indeed, when Macbeth, summoning up courage, bids it speak, it vanishes away. Yet it cannot, I think, be doubted that Shakespeare, to use the

phrase of Professor Bradley, 'meant the judicious to take the Ghost for an hallucination.' Its two appearances synchronise exactly with the expression of Macbeth's hypocritical wish that 'our dear friend Banquo' were present; its first exit, as just noticed, falls in with Macbeth's bold summons to it to speak, and its final exit with his command,

Hence, horrible shadow!

Unreal mockery, hence!

It is, of course, visible to the spectators, but so also are the sleep-phantoms of *Richard III*. The ghosts of Richard's victims are the figments of a coward conscience: the ghost of Caesar is the embodiment of Brutus's sense of the egregious mistake he has made in slaying Caesar, and of the approaching overthrow of republicanism. In like manner, the ghost of Banquo is the outcome of the play of Macbeth's frenzied imagination upon his deep sense of insecurity. Here, too, we are prompted to see in the ghost the agent of the dread power of Nemesis, and as such it is a powerful instrument to bring about Macbeth's ruin. In spite of Lady Macbeth's heroic endeavours to shield her husband, the suspicions of the Scottish lords are aroused—how deeply aroused we learn from Lennox's intensely ironical speech almost immediately afterwards.

The ghost of the '~~majesty of buried Denmark~~' stands on a different footing from that of Shakespeare's other apparitions. Of its reality there can be no question. It is not the ghost of a murdered man appearing to his murderer in the hour of sleep, or in moments of nervous excitement; for it is seen, not by the murderer, but by the minister of vengeance, as well as by disinterested persons like Horatio, Bernardo, and Marcellus. Horatio has 'fortified' his ears against belief in the story of the ghost, but no sooner does it appear on the castle platform than all doubts as to its reality are swept for ever from his mind.

We have already seen that Shakespeare, in his employment of ghostlore, breaks entirely loose from the Senecan convention of placing a ghost in an atmosphere of classic myth. Even when we stand, as in *Julius Caesar*, on classic soil, we are confronted with the beliefs of Elizabethan England, not those of antiquity. The ghost of Caesar tells us nothing of the tortures of Tartarus, but at its approach Brutus's taper burns dimly. It is, however, in *Hamlet* that Shakespeare makes by far the fullest use of the belief in ghosts current in his own day, and to the nature of this belief we must now turn our attention.

In discussing this matter, a distinction must first of all be drawn between the popular ghost-lore of England and that secondary ghost-lore which the theologians of the Middle Ages had constructed out of these popular beliefs. That the ghosts of criminals, suicides, or murdered persons, walked the earth after death, that they sometimes entered into compacts with the living, that they appeared at midnight and 'faded on the crowing of the cock,' and that at their approach the lights grew dim—all this is a part of a primitive ghost-lore common to most European nations. In these primitive beliefs the Church of the Middle Ages found substantial support for its doctrine of a purgatorial state and for inculcating the duty of offering up masses for the souls of the dead. A very clear illustration of the Church's use of ghost-lore is furnished by the medieval verse romance, *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Tarne-wathelan*¹, in which the ghost of Guinevere's mother appears to Guinevere and Gawayne, describes, amongst other things, the pains of Purgatory, and declares,—

Were thritte trentes of masse done
Betwyx vndur and none,
My saule were socurt ful sone,
And broȝte vn-to blys.

The association of ghost-lore with the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church brought the whole matter very prominently before men's minds at the time of the Reformation. Mr T. A. Spalding has, in his *Elizabethan Demonology*, drawn attention to the polemics of catholics and protestants on the ghost question, as well as to the light which these polemics throw upon the Elizabethan drama. He quotes passages from the writings of Archbishop Parker and Bishop Hooper, and also from the *Demonologie* of King James, as illustrations of all this. A study of the Parker Society volumes reveals, indeed, the fact that the question of the nature and origin of ghosts was, at the time of the Reformation, one of considerable moment. The reformers, recognising that there was scripture warrant for the belief in ghosts, never ventured to question the reality of ghostly visitations. Their contention, however, was that ghosts were not the spirits of dead men, but manifestations of the devil. Cranmer in England and Bullinger in Switzerland argue this point at great length, and add force to their arguments by quoting Tertullian and Chrysostom to the same effect. That the discussion was a protracted one, is shown by King James's absorption in it in his *Demonologie*, and by the fact that to the

¹ Edited by Robson (Camden Society Publications), 1842.

1665 edition of Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* there was added an appendix, entitled 'A Discourse concerning Devils and Spirits,' dealing at some length with the question of the nature of 'astral spirits.' While theologians disputed, the ghost enjoyed a popularity such as it had never known before. We have seen something of its vogue in the Elizabethan drama; it occupied a distinguished place in the non-dramatic poetry of the time, and forced an entrance even into the popular chap-books. Thus, when the anonymous author of *Ratsey's Ghost* (1605) essayed to relate the highway robberies of the newly hanged Gamaliel Ratsey, he found it necessary to encase the whole story in an elaborate framework of ghost-lore.

The most elaborate treatment of this theological ghost question is that furnished by the Swiss protestant reformer, Louis Lavater, in his work, *De Spectris, Lemuribus...*, published at Zürich in 1570, of which an English translation, with the title, *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Night*, appeared in London in 1572. So direct is the bearing of this work upon the ghost scenes of *Hamlet*, that some detailed examination of its contents seems desirable. Writing from the strictly protestant standpoint, Lavater acknowledges the existence of spirits, and declares 'to whome, when, where, and after what sort spirits do appear and what they do work.' They appear 'especially in the night, and before midnight in our first sleep,' being chiefly found 'in the fieldes where battels have been fought,' in places of execution, in woods, or in the 'ruins and rubbish of castles.' Such spirits show themselves 'in sundry sort, sometimes in the shape of a man whome we know, who is yet alyve or lately departed; otherwhiles in the likenesse of one whom we knowe not.' In the second Part of his work he declares at full what is the Popish doctrine concerning such spirits. The Papists declare that they come from Purgatory, and are permitted to walk the earth for a season, 'for the instructing and terrifying of the lyving.' They maintain that these spirits 'do not appeare nor answeare unto every mans interrogatories, but that of a great number they scantlie appeare unto one.... And yet they hold that no curious, unprofitable questions shold be demanded of the spirit except he wold of his own accord revele and open them. And yet it wer best that sober persons shold thus question with him on some holy day before diner, or in the night seson, as is commonly accustomed. And if the spirite will shewe no signe at that tyme, the matter shold be deferred unto some other season, untill the spirite woulde shewe hymselfe agayne.... And farther they say that we neede not to feare, that the spirit would do any bodily hurte unto that

persone unto whome it doth appeare. For if such a spirit would hurte any, he might justlie be suspected that he were no good spirit.' The Roman doctrine as to the duty of relieving such spirits is declared a little further on: 'They teach that it is an horrible and heynous offence, if a man give no succoure to such as seeke it at his hands, especially if it be the soule of his parents, brethren or sisters.' Having set forth the Romish doctrine, Lavater proceeds to demolish it, and to show that these visions and spirits are 'not the souls of dead men as some men have thought,' but 'either good or evill Angels,' and quotes from Scripture and the Fathers to show that the devil has 'power to appeare under the shape of a faithfull man.'

Without going so far as to consider Lavater's work the source whence Shakespeare drew the ghost-lore of his *Hamlet*, it will, I think, be allowed that the dramatist was profoundly interested in this dispute of the theologians, and that many of the doctrines set forth by the Swiss protestant find an echo in his tragedy. He makes use of the Reformation ghost question, both to furnish his ghost-scenes with an atmosphere which should take the place of that mephitic air of Tartarus through which the Senecan ghost moved, and also to throw fresh rays of light upon the character of Hamlet. When confronted with the catholic and the protestant doctrine as to ghosts, Shakespeare at once chooses the former—a choice which in no sense proves him to have been a catholic. To have represented the ghost of the dead king as the devil, or as anything but 'an honest ghost,' would have brought the whole play toppling down like a pack of cards. Yet Hamlet, on the ghost's first appearance to him in I, iv, adopts a distinctly protestant standpoint:

Be thou a spirit of health¹ or goblin damn'd,
Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell,
Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
Thou comest in such a questionable shape
That I will speak to thee.

Act I, sc. iv.

But then, feeling the insufficiency of the protestant dogma, he falls back upon the catholic, and adds:

I'll call thee Hamlet,
King, father, royal Dane: O, answer me.

In the conversation between Hamlet and the ghost in the following scene, the latter, knowing the instability of Hamlet's mind, emphasizes

¹ Most editors interpret 'spirit of health' as 'healed or saved spirit.' The phrase, however, clearly means 'good angel,' and the verse falls at once into line with the protestant doctrine that the spirits that walked the earth were either good or evil angels.

the fact that he is, in very truth, confronted by his father's spirit, now doomed to fast in purgatorial fires, until the crimes done in his days of nature are purged away, and able, if such things were but permitted, to unfold a tale of the horrors of purgatory which would harrow up Hamlet's soul and freeze his blood. Such a declaration sweeps from Hamlet's mind every doubt as to the nature of the ghost; he places implicit trust in its story and takes upon his shoulders the heavy burden of vengeance. The subsequent development of the action shows how necessary it was for the ghost to make its identity absolutely clear to Hamlet. For the latter, shrinking from action, ever striving to place new obstacles between himself and the deed of vengeance, seeks in protestant doctrine a covert to which he may flee to escape from the call of duty:

The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil.

Act II, sc. ii.

In suffusing the ghost-scenes of *Hamlet* with the 'local colour' of catholic and protestant doctrine, Shakespeare had accomplished only half of his purpose. There still remained the task of bringing out the personality of his ghost, and of representing it as a moral and intellectual being, capable of enlisting the spectator's sympathy. The necessity for this was all the greater from the fact that, whereas the spectator is acquainted with Banquo and Julius Caesar and Richard's victims as living beings before they appear as ghosts, the death of Hamlet's father precedes the opening of the play. The first impression that the ghost makes upon us, as it appears to Horatio and the others in the first scene, is that of a great warrior king. It moves across the stage with martial stalk; its armour of complete steel is that in which the dead king had conquered and slain old Fortinbras of Norway. Its fair and warlike form is so majestic that Marcellus recognises the wrong of offering it a show of violence. On its reappearance in I, iv, we still see the majesty of buried Denmark, but also the gracious solicitude of the father. It waves Hamlet aside with courteous action, and, while enjoining upon him the sacred duty of vengeance, is also concerned for his spiritual well-being. Knowing only too well that guilt must be burnt away by the fierce fires of purgatory, its strict injunction to him is, 'Taint not thy mind.'

But far more striking than the ghost's fatherly solicitude for Hamlet is the tenderness and love which it shows to the queen. Gertrude may, or may not, have been guilty of robbing her husband of life, but she

had certainly robbed him of honour while life was still his¹. Yet he had loved her with a love

of that dignity
That it went hand in hand even with the vow
I made to her in marriage.

This love still endures, and his strict command to Hamlet is—

nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven,
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her.

On the ghost's reappearance in III, iv, this love and tenderness flame forth anew. Hamlet has ignored his father's injunction not to contrive against his mother, and, at the moment when the 'gracious figure' of the ghost appears, he is stabbing her to the heart with reproaches, until, in agony of soul, she cries:

O, speak to me no more;
These words like daggers enter in mine ears;
No more, sweet Hamlet.

With a tender regard for Gertrude's feelings, the ghost makes itself invisible to her. The object of this visitation, as Hamlet knows full well, is to whet his almost blunted purpose; but no sooner does the ghost see the mental suffering which Gertrude is enduring, than it quietly puts aside self-interests, and, moved by chivalrous solicitude for her welfare, bids Hamlet relieve her poignant thrills of agony:

But look, amazement on thy mother sits;
Oh, step between her and her fighting soul;
Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works;
Speak to her, Hamlet.

Act III, sc. iv.

The ghost remains upon the scene a little longer, listens to the words which Hamlet speaks to his mother, and gazes upon wife and child with eyes so full of pity that Hamlet fears lest they may 'convert my stern effects,' and call forth tears where blood should flow. At last, seeing that Gertrude has won a certain mastery over the tortures of her mind, and without further reference to its own most pressing needs, it silently steals through the portal. Thus, for the gibbering ghost of Senecan tragedy, Shakespeare offers us the warrior king, the gracious father, and the husband who bears with him to the abode of spirits a love for a faithless wife which has triumphed over crime and dishonour and death.

F. W. MOORMAN.

¹ See I, v, 41 f., and Prof. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 166.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF BEOWULF.

THE language of *Bēowulf* is, by no means, a pure West Saxon dialect. Though, as a whole, it may be described as West Saxon of the tenth century (the period to which the MS. points), a large number of non-W.S. forms are imbedded in the poem. These non-W.S. forms have been ingeniously used by Ten Brink in support of his hypotheses as to the Mercian and Kentish versions of the poem. Symons (Paul's *Grundriss*, III. p. 651), on the other hand, goes so far as to describe the results of the higher criticism as highly uncertain, maintaining that 'die Frage, welchem der anglischen Stämme die Ausbildung der Sage zufällt, ist kaum entscheidbar.' It is probable, however, that a scientific study of the material will ultimately throw light on these problems. The difficulty of distinguishing one non-W.S. dialect from another is, at present, the chief stumbling-block. In the following article nothing has been attempted beyond a partial survey of the materials—a complete analysis of the elements in *Bēowulf* still remains to be undertaken.

The abbreviations adopted are:—P. Gr. (= Paul's *Grundriss*), Ten Brink (= *Bēowulf-Untersuchungen*, 1888), S. (= Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, trans. Cook, 1903), B. (= Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, 1902), Sw. (= Sweet's *A.-S. Reader*, 1894). Forms marked with an asterisk have been slightly emended from the MS. The numbers in brackets refer to the lines of Holder's edition.

I. THE W.S. ELEMENT.

(a) *I-umlaut* of *ěa* to *īe* or *ȳ*.

The appearance of *īe* or *ȳ* as *i-umlaut* of *ěa* may be taken as a characteristic W.S. feature. Of this there are some 231 examples in *Bēowulf*. The following are among the examples:—*hȳran*, *ylde*, *gegyr-*

wan, wylma, ylfe, undyrné, syrede, hŷnðu, forwyrné, gelŷfan, bestŷmed, nŷd, geflŷmed, fyl, yrfe, byldan, nŷhstan, yrmðe, āhyrded, wyrgenne, gŷmeð, geŷwan, geslyhta, ŷðe, gewyrpte, fyrd, lyhð.

Palatal influence has produced *ī* in :—gist, liges, niht, miht.

(b) *I-umlaut of īo as ġe or ŷ.*

Of this second W.S. characteristic there are some 64 examples :—dŷgel, dŷre, wyrðe, hyrde, onsŷn, gestrŷnan, tŷne, trŷwe, unhŷre, ŷrringa, yrre.

With later palatal influence :—wrixle, lixe.

(c) *ġo as opposed to īo forms.*

All *īo* forms are not necessarily non-W.S., but it will be useful to show the proportion of such forms. Ten Brink (pp. 238–9) has already laid stress on the fact that the *īo* forms are of much more frequent occurrence in the later portions of the poem. It is remarkable that up to the point where the first hand ceases to appear in the MS. (l. 1939), there are but 11 examples of *īo* as against 786 of *ġo*. From this point to the end of the poem there are 117 examples of *īo* as against 482 of *ġo*. The total number of *ġo* forms in *Bēowulf* is thus 1268, of *īo* 128.

(d) *Nasal influence.*

This, again, is no test of dialect, but presents points of general interest. Before *m* and *n* short *a* in *Bēowulf* appears as either *a* or *o*. Out of 243 words examined, 116 show *a*, the rest *o*. This fact lends additional support to the theory advanced by Wyld, namely that *a* and *o* before nasals are used pretty much according to individual taste. Examples of parallel forms are :—begang, begong; bana, bona; clamm, clomm; gamol, gomol; gehwane, gehwone; forðan, forðon; lic-hama, lic-homa; samod, somod; wang, wong.

(e) *L.W.S. forms.*

The gen. sing. 'wintrys' represents L.W.S. weakening of final -es (B. § 360).

Of verbal forms 'buon' has an infinitive in -on. -on for -an occurs again in the noun 'hæfton,' and in the adverb 'nēon.'

L.W.S. *y* for *i* appears in :—þysne, þysses, þyssum, ys, byð, synt, syndon, nymeð, swymman, swynsian, swylc, hwylc, scypon, syngales, drync.

L.W.S. *y* for *eo* appears in 'syfan-wintre' and in 'gyfenes' (S. § 105).

II. (i) NON-W.S. ELEMENT.

(a) *Personal names.*

Symons (P. Gr. III. p. 651) has pointed out that names common to *Beowulf* and the Northumbrian lists are of non-W.S. origin. Common to *Beowulf* and the *Liber Vitae* are:—Wiglaf, Heardred, Hama, Offa, Herebald. *Liber Vitae* also has the names Ingild (cf. Ingeld), Hyglac (cf. Hygelac), Buuwulf (cf. *Bēowulf*). Common to *Beowulf* and the Northumbrian genealogies are: Finn, Hrōðmund, and Iurmenric (cf. Eormanric).

(b) *Grammatical forms.*

A genitive singular in -as occurs in the proper names 'Merewioingas' (2921) and 'Heaðo-Scilfingas' (63), as well as in 'yrfe-weardas' (2453). Such genitives occur in Northumbrian, Rushworth¹, and sporadically in L.W.S. (S. § 237).

The verbal forms 'hafu, hafo' (2523, 2150, 3000) and 'ful-læstu' (2668) preserve the archaic ending of the 1st sing., pres. ind., generally found in Anglian texts; forms like 'hafast' (5 times) and 'hafað' (9 times) are also rare in W.S. In the imperative 'wæs' (407) we have a Northumbrian form (S. § 427). According to Sievers (§ 408), 'ēaweð' (276) and 'geēawed' (1194) are probably non-W.S. forms.

(c) *Narrowing of \bar{a} to \bar{e} .*

This phenomenon occurs in:—*ēdrum* (742), *folcrēd* (3006), *gesēgon*, *gesēgan* (3128, 3038), *sēle* (1135), *sētān* (1602), *wēg* (3132, 1907), *Wonrēdes*, *-rēding* (2971, 2965), *gefēgon* (1627), *þēgun*, *þēgon* (2633, 563).

Cf. with the above forms the following also found in *Beowulf*:—*sæl*, *sāeton*, *wāeg-*, *gefāegon*, *þāegon*.

(d) *Absence of breaking.*

Unbroken *a* before *r* + cons. occurs in 'hard-fyrde' (2245).

(e) *Non-W.S. breaking.*

Non-W.S. breaking of *e* before *l* + cons. occurs in 'seolfa' (3067). S. § 81, B. § 138.

(f) *Absence of palatalisation.*

This distinguishes as non-W.S. the form 'gæst' (102, 1800, 2073, 2312, 2670, 2699, 1331, 1995). B. § 156, S. § 75.

Cf. *gist*, *giest*, *gyst* (7 times).

(g) Non-W.S. u- or a-umlaut.

u- or a-umlaut of *e* to *eo* occurs in:—eofodō (where Northumbrian *eo* appears for *ea*, 2534), eotonisc, eotenisc (2979, 1558), meodu, meodo (5, 1643, 1980, 1902, 638), meoto (489), meotod (1077), weora (2947), giofan (2972), geofa (2900), geofena (1173), geofum (1958).

Cf. etonisc, meodu, -o (11 times), metod, wera (4 times), gifu (4 times), āgifan, ofgyfan.

i to *io* (*eo*) in:—freoðo, -u, frioðo, -u (851, 188, 522, 2959, 1942, 2282, 1096, 1707), hleoðu (710, 820, 1358, 1427), gewiofu (697), hleonian (1415), leoðo (1505, 1890), leofað (974, 1366, 2008), riodan (3169), scionon (303), seoððan (1775, 1875, 1937), cliofu (2540), leomum (97), weotena (1098), wreoþen (1698), nioðor (2699).

Cf. friðu, hliðo, lifað, lyfað (3 times), witena (3 times), niþer, nyþer.

(ii) ANGLIAN ELEMENT.

(a) Unbroken a before l + cons. may occur in:—alwalda (316, 955), anwalda (1272), balwon (977), baldor (2428), balde (1634), aldor (56, 369, 392, 668, 15, 718, 805, 1587), aldre (346, 661, 680, 955, 1434, 1447, 1469, 1478, 1524, 1779, 2005, 2498), aldres, aldrum (822, 1002, 1565, 510, 538), hals (298, 1566), waldend (1661, 1693, 1752, 2741, 2875, 183, 2292, 3109), galdre (3052).

Cf. alwealdan, bealdor, ealdor (18 times), heals (9 times), wealdend (3 times), gealdor.

It should, however, be noted that Aelfred has several examples of unbroken *a* (B. § 134).

(b) i-umlaut of ēa as ē occurs in:—gesēne (1244), ēð- (1110, 2861), ēðe (2586), lēg (3115, *3145, 2549, 3040), nēdlan (2223), ēg (577, *2893), hēdige (3165). These forms may also be Kentish, B. § 96, § 184, S. § 159.

Cf. gesȳne (7 times), ēaðe (4 times), ēað-, ȳðe (twice), ȳð-, lig (10 times).

(c) i-umlaut of ea before r + cons. may occur in:—werhðo (589), wergan (133, 1747), underne (2911), serce (2539, 2755), mercels (2439), though a similar phenomenon is found in Aelfred and Aelfric (B. § 179).

Cf. undyrne (4 times), syrce (7 times).

before *l + cons.* in 'eldo' (2111) and in 'eldum' (2214, 2314, 2611, 3168), which forms may also be Kentish as Ten Brink held (p. 240).

Cf. yldo (5 times), ylda, yldum (6 times).

Also in wælm (2546, 2135, 2066), sæld (1280).

Cf. wylm, seld-.

In most of these words smoothing to e or æ had taken place before i-umlaut (S. § 162, note 5).

(d) *i-umlaut of iu* occurs in 'eorres' (1447) S. § 100.

Cf. yrre (8 times), yrringa (twice).

i-umlaut of iu possibly in:—diore (1949), dēore (2236, 488, 1528, 1879, 561, 1309), dēogol (275), hēoru (1372), unhīore (2413), unhēoru (987), nīowan (1789), ēoweð (1738).

Cf. dýre (4 times), dýgel, unhýre, nīwe (5 times), nīw-, geniwod, -ad (3 times), ýwde.

Such forms, however, may also be Kentish, and are not unknown to L.W.S. writers (B. § 189).

(e) *Smoothing of eu to e before rh* occurs in 'ferh' < '*feurh' (2706) and in 'hlēor-berge' (304).

before h in gehðu (3095), where i-umlaut has followed, S. § 164.

Cf. gīohðo, *gīohðe (2267, 2793).

wīðer-ræhtes (303) may be a Northumbrian form. S. § 164, B. § 207.

(f) *Smoothing of æo to æ before h* occurs in 'gæhtlan' (369) and 'gæhted' (1885). B. § 205.

Cf. eahtode, eahtedon.

before rg and rh in 'hergum' (3072) and ferh < *fæorh (305). S. § 162

Cf. *hærg-trafum (175).

(iii) MERCIAN ELEMENT.

(a) *u or a-umlaut of a*.

This is the most characteristic feature of Mercian, and occurs in:—eafera, eafora (12, 19, 897, 375, 2358, 2992, 1547, 1847, 2475, 1185, 1710, 1068, 2470), eatol (2074, 2478), heafo (2477), heafolan (2697, 2679, 2661), heaþu, -o (41 times), meaglum (1980), eafod (602, 960, 2349, 1466, 1763, 1717), Eafores (2964).

Cf. atol, atelic (10 times), hafelan, hafalan (11 times).

(b) *Narrowing of æ to e*, which may also be Kentish, is found in:—drep (2880), hreðe (991), secce (600).

Cf. hraðe, sæcce.

(c) *i-umlaut of ea (or æ) to e* occurs in 'gest' (1976, 994), B. § 182. This form may be Kentish.

(iv) KENTISH ELEMENT.

As has already been shown, most of the supposed Kentish forms may be either Anglian, Mercian, or L. W. S. The form 'specan' (2864) may, likewise, be either L. W. S. or Kentish (Sw. § 151, S. § 391). In 'trem,' a foot's space (2525), we may possibly have a Kentish narrowing of y to e; cf. 'trym' (Maldon, 247). Kentish 'getremman' is cited in B. § 162.

Of these 269 forms, classified as non-W. S., 92 belong to the Anglian, 73 to the Mercian dialect; the Kentish forms are all doubtful. If the *īo* forms be added, the number of non-W. S. forms is brought up to 397.

P. G. THOMAS.

SOME TEXTUAL PUZZLES IN GREENE'S WORKS.

THE early editions of Greene's plays and poems abound in obviously corrupt readings, probably due in many instances to the illegibility of the author's handwriting, which, according to the testimony of his friend Chettle, 'was none of the best.' Most of the corruptions have been removed by the ingenuity of Dyce and other scholars; but there remain several which the latest editor, Prof. Churton Collins, has either given up as hopeless, or has attempted to correct by conjectures that appear to me unsatisfactory.

The play misnamed (in the posthumous first edition) *James the Fourth* contains an unusually large number of these unsolved puzzles. That the copy was very badly written may be inferred from the extraordinary amount of corruption in one passage where the correction is certain. In the interlude after Act I, two lines of the inscription on the tomb of Cyrus appear in the quarto as follows :

And I prithee leaue me not thus like a clod of clay
Wherewith my body is couered.

The passage in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* from which this inscription is taken shows, as Prof. Collins observes, that the true reading of the first of these lines is, 'And I prithee *enuie* me not *this little* clod of clay.'

The stage-direction at the beginning of this play is thus printed by Prof. Collins :

"Enter Aster Oberon, King of Fayries ; an(d) Antique(s), who dance about a Tombe... ; out of the which suddainly starts vp, as they daunce, Bohan, a Scot, attyred like a ridstall man, from whom the Antique(s) flye."

Neither Prof. Collins nor any preceding editor, so far as I know, has made any remark on the title prefixed to the name of Oberon, though the fact that it does not occur elsewhere in this connexion might reasonably have excited suspicion that something was wrong. Further, *antique* was formerly used as a collective noun, meaning a company of dancers grotesquely habited, so that the letters inserted by the editor

are wrong. The beginning of the stage-direction should, I think, unquestionably read: 'Enter, after Oberon King of Fayries, an Antique, who dance about a Tombe.' In the latter part, the word *ridstall* has been a puzzle to all the commentators. Prof. Skeat has suggested that 'a ridstall man' means a man who 'rids' or cleans a stable. This explanation can hardly have seemed quite satisfactory even to its proposer. It would, I think, be impossible to find in English of any period an instance of an adjectival compound of verb and object noun serving to designate a man's office or employment. I believe the truth is that what Greene wrote was 'a *raskall* man,' meaning a man of the humblest class. This sense of *rascal* was common in the 16th century. A good example is quoted in the Oxford Dictionary from Udall: 'He that purifieth al thinges cam as one of the raskall sort.'

In Act IV scene 3 of the same play there is the following dialogue:

Shoomaker. Gentleman, what shoo will it please you to haue?

Slipper. A fine neate calues leather, my friend.

Shoomaker. Oh, sir, that is too thin, it will not last you.

Slipper. I tell thee, it is my neer kinsman, for I am Slipper, which hath his best grace in summer to bee suted in lakus skins.

For *lakus skins* Collier suggested *Iackass skins*; but the word jackass is not known to have been in use earlier than the 18th century; besides, one does not see why there should be supposed to be any near kinship between ass-skin and calf leather. The context obviously demands either 'calues skins' or something nearly synonymous. As one of the Elizabethan forms of capital *C*, when badly written, might easily be mistaken for *l*, and misreadings of *k* for *l* are notoriously common, I think there need be little hesitation about correcting *lakus* into *Calues*.

A few lines earlier in the scene Slipper says to the tailor, 'I tell thee, a flap is a great friend to a storrie; it stands him in stead of cleane napery.' The editors leave *storrie* without explanation. I would doubtfully suggest that it is a misreading of *sloven*, which seems to suit the context. In 16th century MSS. *sl* and *st* are sometimes not easily distinguished. The word *sloven* is used elsewhere by Greene.

In Act III scene 2 (Collins, l. 1199) the quarto has 'They seeke a knot in a ring.' I know of no other example of this form of the (originally Latin) proverbial phrase 'to seek a knot in a rush.' As the final *h* of 16th century handwriting, when badly written, is liable to be mistaken for a *g*, it seems not impossible that *rush* was what Greene wrote.

In the same scene (Collins, ll. 1271-2) the quarto reads:

Sieur Iaques, this our happy meeting hides
Your friends and me, of care and greeuous toyle.

It is evident that *hides* makes no sense. Dyce substituted *hinders*. Prof. Collins introduces *prives* into his text, justifying this bold alteration by the unlikely assumption that the copy was read to the compositors while being set up. But even as an error of hearing the change of *prives* into *hides* does not seem particularly likely, and I do not know of any example of the verb *prive* in the required sense. I venture to suggest *frees*, which certainly gives the right meaning. At first sight this emendation may seem more violent than those of the two editors, but in reality the graphical difficulty is very small, because the MS. *d* and *e* often scarcely differed except in size, and the combinations *hi* and *fr* were sometimes not greatly dissimilar in appearance.

The bad French assigned to Jaques in this play is a difficulty for an editor, as it is impossible to say how far the blunders of grammar and spelling are due to the printer and how far they are the author's own. Perhaps the best course would have been to leave the gibberish of the quarto unaltered in the text, and give the probable correction in the notes. Prof. Collins, however, has chosen to introduce his conjectures into the text. It is not worth while to criticize his restorations in detail, but they seem to me sometimes to do too much violence to the recorded reading. For instance, in Act IV scene 5 (l. 1697-8), the original has: 'You no *dire vostre prieges? vrbleme merchants famme,*' which the editor alters to 'You no *dites vostres prières? morbleu, mechante femme.*' It is not easy to see how *morbleu* could be corrupted into *vrbleme*, and *villeine*, which is graphically more plausible, will suit the sense equally well. It is to be remarked that words and sentences of foreign languages were commonly written in the 'Italian hand.'

In the preface to his edition Prof. Collins says: 'I have very rarely admitted conjectures into the text even where corruption cried for them.' He has, however, several times (of course not without due notice in the footnotes) altered the spelling of the quartos quite needlessly, substituting, e.g., *hairs* for *heares*, and *coin* for *quoine*, although the condemned forms were in the sixteenth century regarded as quite admissible. I have noted two instances in which the alteration is more than merely orthographical. In *Alphonsus*, line 11, Prof. Collins has followed Dyce in printing *idless' slights* (with the apostrophe!) for the *Idels slights* of the quarto. The word *idlesse* appears to be Spenser's coinage, and I am not aware that he used it before 1596, which is later than the date of Greene's death. At any rate we have no reason to suppose that Greene intended to use the Spenserian word in this passage, for *idle* occurs in contemporary writings as a substantive in the

sense of idleness. The other needless correction is in *Looking Glasse*, l. 1820, where the quartos read 'As I was comming alongst the port ryuale (Qq. 3, 5 ryualt) of Ninieue.' Dyce and Prof. Collins have altered *ryuale* into *royal*. But surely 'port rival' (i.e. port on the bank of the river) is at least as likely to be right as the proposed substitute. In *Looking Glasse* ll. 1516-8,

Sun-bright as is the eye of sommers day,
When as he sutes Spenori all in gold
To wooe his Leda in a swanlike shape,

some correction is of course needed. But Mitford's brilliant suggestion of 'his pennons' for *Spenori* ought not to have been intruded into the text. It does not, after all, yield a quite satisfactory sense, and the use of *pennons* for 'wings' or '*pinions*' first occurs, so far as is known, in *Paradise Lost*. The reading in the old editions reminds me of the mysterious *the Eronie* (apparently meaning the sky) in Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (*Dram. Wks.* 1873, I. 319). The combinations *spe* and *the* are written nearly alike in some MSS. But what is 'Eronie'? Dyce's conjecture 'ourany' cannot well be right.

I do not know why all the editors of the *Looking Glasse* have chosen to follow the later quartos in printing the name of the King of Nineveh as 'Rasni,' instead of retaining the form 'Rasin' of the first quarto. It has, perhaps, not hitherto been remarked that the name of Rasin and his sister Remelia must have been suggested by the Vulgate text of *Isaiah* viii. 6, 'Rasin et filium Romeliæ.' It is not absolutely certain that Greene and Lodge mistook the 'Romelia' of this passage for a female name, but appearances are badly against them.

The nature of some of the corrections offered in this paper suggests the remark that the conjectural criticism of Elizabethan texts has hitherto taken far too little into account the peculiarities of the handwriting of the period. The misreading of MS. is not, of course, the only source of corruption; even in dealing with 'reprint copy' a compositor will often substitute one letter for another, owing to carelessness or wrong distribution of type, and will sometimes catch at the general drift of a sentence instead of reading each word as he sets it up; but it is no doubt from difficulties of handwriting that the most puzzling errors usually proceed. It would be a considerable help to textual critics if some one would compile a judiciously classified list of the kinds of mistakes most frequently met with in the original editions of sixteenth century works.

HENRY BRADLEY.

NEWLY-DISCOVERED POLITICAL POEMS OF WILHELM MÜLLER.

SINCE the recent publication of the very elaborate and careful article upon Wilhelm Müller in the Eighth Book of Goedeke's *Grundriss* (pp. 255—278) there has been little expectation of any new sources of information concerning that poet. Not long ago, however, I learned from Dr Alfred Rosenbaum of Prague (author of the article mentioned) that the *Deutsche Blätter für Poesie, Litteratur, Kunst und Theater* (published during 1823 in Breslau by Schall and Karl von Holtei) contain a large number of contributions, many of which are quite unknown. Two expeditions to Berlin proved fruitless, but after much correspondence I was fortunate enough to receive by post the volume which belongs to the University of Breslau. The journal, which was one of the multifarious enterprises of that adventurous free-lance, Karl von Holtei, appeared four times a week, and shows an unexpected distinction of form: there is hardly another magazine of the period which exhibits such chaste proportions, elegant simplicity of arrangement, clearness of print, and excellence of paper. Holtei had already met Müller during a visit to Berlin in 1817, when Holtei was taken up by the circle of the *Gesellschafter*. Müller proved very congenial, and secured Holtei's introduction to the manager of the Berlin Theatre, which did not, however, lead to the acceptance of his unknown plays, as he had hoped. Again in August, 1820, Müller happened to meet Holtei in Saxon Switzerland, at a time when the latter was starting upon a tour as vagrant reciter. The poet remonstrated with him, urged him to go upon the stage, and furnished him with an introduction to Tieck, who at once gave him an engagement in the Dresden Royal Theatre (Holtei, *Vierzig Jahre*, 3, 238 ff.). When Holtei established his short-lived *Obernigker Bote* in Silesia in 1822, Müller contributed to it on September 23 the poem *Dem älterlichen Brautpaare*, which was not republished until 1868, from another source (Max Müller's ed. 1, 111).

Holtei had always an audacious way of getting around the ordinary restraints of society, and his *Deutsche Blätter* published many things which in North Germany would certainly have led to the interference of the censor. It was doubtless for this reason that Müller found it a useful organ, and contributed so often to its pages. He himself was habitually getting into conflict with 'the powers that be' in press-affairs. The ground-note of Müller's temperament was personal freedom, a restiveness under arbitrary interference of whatever sort. When he and his four young poet-friends, who had served together in the War of Liberation, renewed their literary bond in Berlin and published (January, 1816) the volume *Bundesblüthen*, they at once awakened the hostility of the censor. The following verses, prepared by themselves for insertion as advertisement of the forthcoming poems, and as innocent of treason as their verses themselves, for the most part, of literary distinction, were at once forbidden:

Fünf Säng'er reichten einmüthig sich die Hand
 Zu ew'gen Bundes heil'gem Unterpfand.
 Sie hatten lang in frommer Glut gefochten
 Für Gott, die Freyheit, Frauenlieb und Sang,
 Und Eichengrün um ihre Stirn geflochten,
 Errungen in der Waffen wildem Drang,
 Und da sie nun die Freyheit siegen machten,
 Verbanden sie sich treu zu heitrem Klang:
 Und von den Blüthen, so der Bund getragen,
 Will Euch dies Buch die erste Kunde sagen.

Personal remonstrances of the indignant young authors were of no avail: the censor rated them chiefly for emphasizing the word 'freedom' in the advertisement. When they pleaded that the King himself had called them out in the name of 'freedom,' he answered: 'Yes, at *that* time!'

In *Urania* for 1822 (Leipzig, 1821) Müller published a long literary essay on Byron, in which, speaking of the widespread personal interest in the English poet, he said: 'Maria Louisa, "proud Austria's mournful flower," once asked where he was sitting in a theatre'—a sentence which caused the entire edition to be forbidden throughout the Austrian empire. From this time on, Müller had constant annoyance from the Leipzig censor, who repeatedly mutilated his reviews for Brockhaus's literary periodicals, to which Müller was a constant contributor¹. The publication of the first volume of the *Neue Lieder der Griechen* was

¹ Through the kindness of the present head of the firm of F. A. Brockhaus, I have been granted free access to 129 entirely unknown letters of Wilhelm Müller, extending from 1819 to the day before the poet's death in 1827. These letters shed a flood of light upon many little-understood events in Müller's career.

delayed because of these difficulties, in connection with which Müller writes that the *Imprimatur* for such poems is also not easy to obtain in Dessau. A proposed third volume of burning poems in favour of the independence of the Greeks (already announced in the *Deutsche Blätter* of March 4, 1823) was entirely suppressed in Leipzig. At the end of 1823 a poem upon the execution of the Spanish revolutionist Raphael Riego was also suppressed (published first in 1844; see Max Müller's ed. 2, 131, where it stands wrongly among *Griechenlieder*). In 1824 Müller's review of poets of the Greek cause is interfered with because of certain objectionable phrases, and he himself proposes 'bedrängte Griechen' for 'bedrängte Mitchristen,' in order to appease the censor.

Müller's contributions to *Deutsche Blätter* are in five groups: (1) 14 *Devisen zu Bonbons* (Jan. 23—June 23). (2) 19 *Tafellieder* (Jan. 27—Dec. 23). (3) 2 *Strafgedichte* in favour of Greek independence (March 4). (4) 10 poems belonging to the cycle *Die Winterreise* (March 13 and 14). (5) The First Act of a drama *Leo, Admiral von Cypern*, which ran through eight numbers (May 5—16) and seems never to have been completed, though Müller sent Brockhaus the Second Act on June 15, 1823. The two first groups concern us more particularly.

It is easy to understand Müller's purpose in the veiled satires which are so artfully mixed among more harmless poems—even if he had not himself described them, in a letter to Brockhaus of February 26, 1823, as 'Gesellschaftslieder—zum Theil politische Chansons' (*Amer. Journ. of Philology*, 24, 134). He had fought through the War of Liberation with enormous enthusiasm, and immediately upon its close had been cast into utter disappointment by the ruthless reactionary politics of European statesmanship. Despots, diplomats, and parasites held the lately-aroused spirit of freedom in check, and all that was left was the indignant protest, in a spirit of half-suppressed indignation, against those who were in possession, or in favour. The cause of the Greeks—despised by all European governments—burned into his soul. Under a harmless title the poet speaks out, hoping that his protest may make itself heard between the lines. The censors had keen perceptions, however, and it seems sure that those songs which Müller did not include in his next volume (most of the poems in *Deutsche Blätter* appeared in his *Gedichte eines reisenden Waldhornisten*, 2. Bändchen, Dessau, 1824) were left out because the publisher dared not print them¹.

¹ All these poems are to appear in the writer's forthcoming *Gedichte von Wilhelm Müller*. Vollständige kritische Ausgabe. B. Behrs Verlag. Berlin.

The group *Devisen zu Bonbons* bears the inscription: 'Allen deutschen Konditoreien gewidmet'; and the additional note: 'Die Bilder werden durch die Überschriften bezeichnet. Dem Dichter schwebten die bekannten Pariser Bonbons vor, die auf diese Weise unter uns zu nationalisiren wären.' The innocent *Devisen* (*Rosenknospe und Thautropfen, Amor in einer Rosenknospe, Amor als Bettler*, and the like) are very light Anacreontic poems, and occur in all editions since 1824. Very different is the political song (January 23, 1823):

Ein Krebs.

Rückwärts! heißt das Wort der Zeit;
Rückwärts laßt uns gehen,
Nicht zu schnell und nicht zu weit,
Wie's an mir zu sehen!

Bin zum Kochen jetzt zu gut,
Will nunmehr studiren,
Und in der reptilen Brut
Mich brav distinguiren.

Mancher hat's schon weit gebracht
Mit dem rückwärts Schreiten:
Ehrensterne, Gold und Macht
Bringt's den guten Leuten.

Politik, hilf du mir fort!
Dir gehört mein Leben.
Hand in Hand und Wort auf Wort,
Rückwärts laß uns streben!

In the volume of 1824 Müller published a very much modified and greatly subdued variant of this song among his *Tafellieder*, under the title *Rückwärts!* (Max Müller's ed. 2, 55).

One of the most peppery of these 'Bonbons for German Confectioners' appeared on June 23 and is entitled:

Ein Kreuzchen in der neuesten Façon.

Ich Kreuz, mein eignes Kreuz euch klage,
Wie man mir mitspielt hent' zu Tage.
In allen bunten Modebuden,
Bei Christen, Heiden oder Juden,
Hat man mich feil von Gold und Eisen,
Und, um mir Ehre zu erweisen,
Trägt mich die Dirn' auf nackten Brüsten
Bei eitlen Stolz und wilden Lüsten.
Auch auf dem Puktsch muß ich stehen,
Und schminken, kleben, pflastern sehen,

Und Abends schmück' ich dann die Feste,
 Zur Unterhaltung frommer Gäste.
 In euren neuen Almanachen
 Muß ich das Titeltupfer machen,
 Und darf im Innern auch nicht fehlen,
 Muß im Sonett mich lassen quälen,
 Und zwischen Schilling, Laun und Claren
 Ein liebes langes Jahr ausdauern.
 Selbst in den Zuckerbäckerladen
 Wird' ich geprägt auf Tort' und Fladen,
 Und eingewickelt in Papieren
 Muß ich Bonbons als Bildchen zieren,
 Fürwahr, ich wäre schon verkommen,
 Hätt' sich nicht meiner angenommen
 Die Politik auf ihrem Throne,
 Und aus des dummen Böbels Hohne
 Mich glorreich zu sich aufgehoben.
 Seitdem schweb' ich zwar wieder oben,
 Und werd' in Akten und Traktaten
 Geehrt von frommen Diplomaten;
 Allein im schönen Morgenlande
 Läßt mich, zu aller Christen Schande,
 Trotz allem Jammern, allem Beten,
 Frau Politik mit Füßen treten.
 Ich seufz' und muß darein mich finden:
 Wer kann die Politik ergründen?

The last six lines have, of course, reference to the Greek struggle.

The *Tafellieder* are, like the *Devisen*, mixed in character, a few being purely convivial, though in general Müller's famous songs of German wine have decidedly a political tendency.

In Vino Veritas!

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Laßt diesen Spruch uns ehren,
 Und von dem Heuchelschein
 Der Zeit uns nicht bethören.
 Laßt uns was recht, was schlecht,
 Mit seinem Namen nennen,
 Und über Herr und Knecht
 • Nur ein Gesetz erkennen!

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Wem gilt der erste Becher?
 Schenkt klar und lauter ein!—
 Er gilt dem Trugzerbrecher,
 Der Wahrheit hohem Herrn,
 Der bei dem hellsten Lichte,
 Was hoch, tief, nah und fern
 Sich birgt, ruft zu Gerichte.

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Der Gw'ge frägt nach Thaten;
 Er schauet nicht hinein
 In Akten und Traktaten,
 Da wohl sein Name steht
 Mit großer Schrift geschrieben:
 Der Buchstab', er vergeht—
 Wo ist der Geist geblieben?

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Was nahren dort für Schaaren?
 Sie ziehen singend ein,
 Gepusht mit schlichten Haaren.
 Sind das die frommen Leut',
 Die sich in Almanachen
 Mit ihrer Frömmigkeit
 So wunderzierlich machen?

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Wem gilt der zweite Becher?
 Euch soll er heilig sein,
 Ihr starken Lügenrächer,
 Die für der Wahrheit Ehren
 Mit Hand und Mund gestritten,
 Und gern, als Siegeslohn,
 Hohn, Noth und Tod erlitten!

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Laßt nicht auf hohen Säulen
 Von blankem Marmorstein
 Die Blick' allein verweilen.
 Die Wahrheit winkt uns fort,
 Und zeigt in öden Klüften
 Uns manchen heil'gen Ort
 Mit ungeschmückten Grüften.

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Dem keines Königs Ehren
 Von Gold und Edelstein
 Die freie Brust beschweren,
 Des Name nie erklang
 Aus eines Sängers Munde,
 Den meint der Becher Klang
 In unsrer vollen Runde.

Die Wahrheit lebt im Wein.
 Nun füllt den letzten Becher!
 Doch seht, der ist nicht rein,
 Und wir sind klare Becher.
 Wem gilt der Bodensatz?
 Den trüben Obskuranten
 Dem Orden des Ignaz,
 Und ihren Anverwandten!

(February 10.)

There is a sturdy spirit of protest in some of these stanzas which puts them among the most earnest of Müller's verses. The fourth stanza aims at the younger Romanticists (such as the group connected with Fouqué's *Frauentaschenbuch*) whose religion even showed a decidedly reactionary tendency.

Die Reise in's Paradies.

Laßt unsrer Zeit ein Lied uns singen!

Suche! Suche!

Sie will in's Paradies uns bringen,

Sie führt uns sicherlich hinein.

Laßt uns mit ihr rückwärts gehn

Und nicht wieder vorwärts sehn!

Rückwärts geht's durch Herenfeuer,

Von dem Raben zu dem Geier,

Rückwärts durch des Teufels Küche,

Durch des Kegerdampfs Gerüche,

Rückwärts bis zum alten Drachen,

Der den Apfel thät bewachen;

Rückwärts bis in's Paradies

Führt uns unsre Zeit gewiß.

Laßt unsrem Wein ein Lied uns singen!

Suche! Suche!

Er will in's Paradies uns bringen,

Er führt uns sicherlich hinein.

Flügel setzt er Jedem an,

Wo sie jeder brauchen kann,

An dem Kopfe, an den Zehen,

Und wir schweben nach den Höhen,

Wo die jungen Lerchen singen,

Wo der Sphären Töne klingen;

In der Seligen Gewimmel

Trägt er uns durch sieben Himmel

Bei der Sternenlichter Schein

Grad' in's Paradies hinein.

(March 25.)

Similar in tone is a letter to Fouqué from Müller on December 15, 1821: 'Was sagen Sie zu Oesterreich? Da will man, wie es scheint, die Welt *retour schrauben*.... Geht es mit dieser Maschinerie so rüstig fort, wie man anfängt, so kommt man nächstens zu der Inquisition und den Autodafé's etc. zurück' (*Diary and Letters of W. Müller*, Chicago, 1903, p. 99).

Lieb' und Wein.

Ich singe nur von Lieb' und Wein,
Und fällt mir etwas Andres ein,
So küß' und trink' ich gleich einmal
Und schicke mein Gelüst zu Thal.

Gehab' dich wohl, du meine Zeit,
Mit aller deiner Herrlichkeit.
Ich bin nicht würdig, Gott sei Dant!
Zu singen deinen Lobgesang.

Die Zeitung wird ja Poesie
Und spürt die Kraft der Phantasie,
Wenn sie uns, schwarz auf grau und weiß,
Verkündet deinen Ehren-Preis.

Von manchem weltberühmten Jahr
Ist jezt mir kaum die Zeit noch klar.
Nur eine, die vergeß' ich nie,
Fragt ihr mich drum, so nenn' ich sie.

Des Jahres, dessen edlen Wein
Ich schenk' in diesen Becher ein,
Deß sei mit Jubel stets gedacht:
Die Probe hält, was er gebracht.

Es lebe achtzehnhundert elf!
Stoßt an darauf und sagt: Gott helf'!
Was man zwei Jahr darauf gewann,
Weiß Gott, wohin der Wein verrann!

Die Kelter hatte wohl ein Loch:
Nun schmecken wir nur Hesen noch,
Und manche kluge Zunge spricht:
Die Hesen die berauschen nicht.

Ich lobe mir den klaren Wein;
Drum, Brüder, schenkt noch einmal ein!
Bis Bessres bringt die bessere Zeit,
Ist's Lieb' und Wein, was uns erfreut.

(June 12.)

In the last stanzas there is a noticeable expression of bitter disappointment at the apparent failure of the national uprising of 1813.

Unsre Konstitution.

Hier an unsrer Tafelrunde,
In dem freien Lieberbunde,
Sind wir gut konstituiert;
Können all' auf Kopf und Kragen
Ginen derben Hieb vertragen
Für das Recht, das uns regiert.

Keine Titel, Kreuz' und Ehren
 Dürfen dem Gesetze wehren,
 Das in diesem Staat herrscht:
 Reich' und Arme, Groß' und Kleine
 Müssen trinken Wein vom Rheine
 Wie der König commandirt.

Doch der König selbst da oben
 Ist dem Spruche nicht enthoben,
 Wenn er seinen Szepter schwingt;
 Heißt er singen uns und trinken,
 Trinkt und singt er bis zum Sinken
 Mit uns, daß es klinkt und klingt.

Unser König der soll leben,
 Die Minister auch daneben,
 Wenn sie schenken lauter ein;
 Wer mit Nischmatsch uns betrogen,
 Der wird vor Gericht gezogen
 Und verdammt zu Gänsewein.

Aus der reichsten deutschen Quelle,
 Stark und ruhig, warm und helle,
 Fließt der Wein in unserm Staat,
 Hebt das Herz und weckt die Geister,
 Macht die blöden Zungen dreister,
 Und giebt allen Köpfen Rath.

Also haben es gehalten
 Unsere guten, tapfern Alten:
 Sie beriethen sich beim Glas;
 Und die neuen Diplomaten
 Halten auch auf Wein und Braten,
 Und hernach auf dies und das!

Fort nur mit den welschen Schäumen,
 Die in Demagogenträumen
 Wirbeln nach dem Hirn empor!
 Fort auch mit dem schweren, dicken
 Ungar, der das Licht ersticken
 Will in seiner Dünste Fier!

Oder wollt ihr's ernstlich wagen
 Euch mit uns herum zu schlagen,
 Nun, so rückt heran zum Strauß!
 Kommt uns doch nicht in die Böpse! —
 Und wir brechen euch die Köpfe,
 Und wir stechen all' euch aus.

Unsre Karte zu beschügen,
 Segen gern wir unsre Mügen,
 Beutel und Perrücken dran;
 Demagogen und Despoten
 Ist der Handschuh angeboten,
 Und wir stehn für einen Mann.

Deutsche Lieder, deutsche Neben,
 Deutsche Lust und deutsches Leben,
 Blüht auf deutscher Erd' empor!
 Segnet unsre Tafelrunde,
 Die aus einem vollen Munde
 Euch begrüßt im ersten Chor!

(August 7.)

Der Diplomatschmaus.

Speiste jungst mit Diplomaten;
 In die tiefe Kunst der Staaten
 Bin ich da hinab gesunken,
 Und hab' eins dazu getrunken.
 O weh! O weh! O weh!
 Brüder, holt mich doch heraus
 Aus dem Diplomatschmaus!
 Christenbrüder ließ ich schlachten,
 Weil sie nicht politisch dachten,
 Und gar, ohne mich zu fragen,
 Flugs der Heiden Joch zerschlagen.
 O weh! O weh! O weh!
 Brüder, holt mich doch heraus!
 Halt' es hier nicht länger aus.
 Und die üppigen Barbaren
 Zupften mich an meinen Haaren;
 Doch von legitimen Krallen
 Läßt man sich das wohl gefallen.
 O weh! O weh! O weh!
 Brüder, holt mich doch heraus!
 Mich erfaßt ein kalter Graus.
 Und ich schrie aus voller Kehle:
 Gott errette meine Seele
 Aus der tiefen Kunst der Staaten,
 Von dem Tisch der Diplomaten!
 O weh! O weh! O weh!
 Brüder, holt mich doch heraus
 Aus dem Diplomatschmaus!
 Und als ich davon gezogen,
 Hört' ich was von Demagegen
 Hinter mir bedenklich brummen,
 Lispeln, flüstern oder summen.
 Suchhe! Suchhe! Suchhe!
 Gott sei Dank! ich bin heraus
 Aus dem Diplomatschmaus.

(August 14.)

Like most other ventures of the sort, the *Deutsche Blätter* came to an end within one year, ceasing upon the last midnight of December, 1823.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

GIRAUT DE BORNELH: 'LOS APLEITZ.'

THIS poem has an interest for students of Dante: reference is made to it in the *Convivio*, Book IV, chap. xi, where Dante remarks that legacies fall more often to the wicked than the good, and goes on to exclaim: 'Così fosse piaciuto a Dio, che quello che domandò il Provenzale fosse stato, che "chi non è reda della bontà perdesse il retaggio dell' avere!"' The personality of the 'man of Provence' has long been a difficulty: his identification with Giraut is due to Prof. Francesco Torraca of Naples, whose discovery was announced by Dr Paget Toynbee in a letter to the *Athenaeum* of April 18, 1903. There is no doubt that Dante had in mind ll. 29—33 of this poem: other reminiscences of Giraut, or perhaps unconscious coincidences of thought, occur in this fourth book of the *Convivio*. Thus in chapter xxvii: 'Ahi malastrui e malnati! che disertate vedove e pupilli...edificate li mirabili edifici e credetevi Larghezza fare!' etc., we are reminded of Giraut's

tals e tals vai tapis
Pe-l seu donar...

in *No-s pot sofrir ma lenga* (see Kolsen, *G. von Bornelh*, Berlin, 1894, p. 92 and his note on p. 134: 'der Dichter scheint hier Leute, wie es deren nicht wenige gab [s. Diez, *Poesie*, 48], im Sinne zu haben, welche sich die Mittel für ihre Freigebigkeit auf unrechtmässige Weise erwarben'). A more interesting poem, to be read in connection with chapter x, on the text that riches are no test of worth, is *Solatz, jois e chantars*, published in Chabaneau's *Poésies inédites des troubadours du Périgord*, Paris, 1885, p. 33:

Qui mais ha e val mens
Deu esser mens nomnatz....
Doncx per esser manens
Voletz esser blasmatz?
Oc ben, si voletz vos
Aver mais qu'esser pros.

In this poem, too, Giraut returns to the theme which forms the subject of *Los Apleitz*:—

pretz e jovens
 E bels captenemens
 En son mout descazatz,
 Si qu'als plus rics baros
 En ave mals ressos;
 Et estera lur be
 Qu'usquex penses de se
 Quar Dieus als plus prezat
 Donet las heretatz.

Bartsch (*Grundriss*, 242, 47) gives the following MSS. as containing copies of the poem: ABCDDcIKMNQRUVa. My text is based upon the following: A (*Archiv*, 33, 314; *M. G.*, 853, Monaci, *Studj*, iii, p. 15), C fol. 8vo, col. 2, I fol. 18^a, K fol. 8b and c (the identity of I with K and of A with B is well known), M (*M. G.*, 852), N fol. 168^a, Q fol. 100, R fol. 10, U fol. 1 (*Archiv*, 35, 363), V fol. 72 (*Archiv*, 36, 419; *M. G.*, 854), a fol. 2 (Stengel, *Revue des langues romanes*, 1892).

I have to thank Professor A. Jeanroy of Toulouse for copies of CIKR, and Signor Benedetti of Florence for the copy of Q. I have not been able to procure a copy of D. These MSS. seem to me to fall into three groups, ANUV, IKMQRa, and C. The last, the best MS. which we possess, has been made the basis of the text.

The rime scheme is: 6a (with internal rime) 6b 6b 6c 6c 6d 4d 6é 6é 6f 6f 6g 6g 6g 6g. Maus (*Peire Cardenals Strophienbau*, Marburg, 1884) notes this scheme under No. 675; the only corresponding poem given by him is one of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 392, 22). He denotes line 13 as 4g instead of 6g, probably a misprint.

I.

Los apleitz ab qu'ieu suelh
 chantar e·l bon talan
 ai ieu qu'avi' antan;
 mas, quar non trob ab cui
 5 ne deport ni·m desdui,
 no sui ges benanans.
 ai dieus! quals dans

1 aplegz M, aplez U, apleç Q, apletz CIK, apleyt R. sueil N, suoill AIKR,
 sueilh M. 3 agra eu UKI, qa auia Q, quauia AU. 4 nō truep Na.
 5 no solatz M, nom solatz V. nim] ni MQ, no mesiau ni mesdui R. 6 ni
 non sui b. AKMNQRU, no soi ben amantz V. 7 oi d. N, deu Q, e d. V.

- s'en sec e quals dampnatges!
 quar cortz e bos usatges
 10 aissi menuza e falh
 no·n a i nul refrenalh;
 mas, quar mon senhor platz
 jois e chans e solatz,
 m'esjau ab sos privatz;
 15 e quan m'en sui lunhatz
 m'irasc ab los iratz.

II.

- Mas destreitz me destuelh
 per que·m vau regaran
 si ia s'alegraran;
 20 e ges a joi non fui
 ni·ls plazers no·m esdui,
 anz mi platz ades chans
 e gens mazans
 e cortz e vassalatges:
 25 ia·s pert als rics linhatges;
 par pros en son miralh
 cui ses esperonalh
 non s'esmera barnatz;
 e si·l pair fo lauzatz
 30 e·l filhs se fai malvatz
 sembla·m tortz e pechatz
 qu'aia las heretatz.

8 cal damnatge QU. 9 iois e bos AIKNV, ioia e bon Q, usatge QV,
 cors a. 10 a si minut Q, aixi menut e V, menuzye (*y a later insertion*)
 N, aysi menut defalh R, aisi nienusaie f. U, merme defaill a. 11 noi
 agreu retenaill A, non agreu retenaill Q, nonna greu retenaill U. 13 ioi QR,
 bes e iois A, iois e bes V, bens e cant U, bes iois IK. 14 me iai ab se p.
 Q, los p. CR. 15 me son V. 16 ab los iratz] *wanting in Q*.
 17 destuelch V, destreg Q (*other rime words as in I*). 18 per qe IKQRU,
 per quen C, e sim uauc A, regardan IK. 20 quar ges MRVa. 21 nil
 uoler CRA, non CMQUV, desdai A. 22 qa mi IKMVUa. 23 e bels
 m. RA, e bel M. 24 tortz a, uasallatge QV. 25 ia CQRV, perda AQ,
 pergal bos l. M, pergal bos usatges V, per gal bon lingnatge U, perde rics l. IK,
 per dels rics l. R, pert els rics a. 26 pair pro en son m. A, pareys pros son
 m. C, paire pros son m. IKR, paire pron son m. MU, pros pair en son m. Q,
 pros paire so mirals V, paire pro son m. N, pares pron son m. a. 27 qus
 s. CR, e uei ses IK, quo o senes speronail Q, car s. V, quoi s. Ua, esperdilaill U.
 28 sesmarra A, non sesmet als C, non sesmeral R, esmaral V, ses miral a.
 29 pairs CM, fos CIKQ. 30 filh UVa. 31 mi par t. AV, tort Q.
 32 les UV. hertaz Q.

III.

- Mas quals dreitz o acuelh
 qu' elh filhs ai' atretan
 35 de rend' e-l pretz soan?
 ni quals razos adui
 que mieilhs non tainh' autrui?
 qu' autreiat fon enans
 outra mil ans
 40 honors e senhoratges
 de son pretz e coratges
 e costa e trebalh;
 e-l filhs si non trassalh
 non es doncs forlignatz;
 45 ara cum no-m mostratz,
 vos savi, que jutgatz?
 s'als pros fol don donatz
 cum n'er dels despretatz?

IV.

- Mas neleitz er si-m tuelh
 50 per cels que falhiran
 de solatz ni de chan;
 per fol tengatz celui
 qui se mezeis destrui
 ni-s vira malanans;
 55 per non sai quans

33 doncs q. A, E q. QV, dretz CIK, dregz M, dreg QV (*other rime words as in I*). 34 qe f. Q, fill UV, aia trestan M, agestan V, autretan U. 35 renda cl ACIKQR. 36 o quels C, o q. U, cal QRV. 37 nois taigna A. 38 quieu cre qe fos AIKQMNRR, qe cre fos ans V. 40 qonors CMQSUa, e onors en s. IK, e uasallatge U. 41 dones p. CIKQ, dauon MRa, dos e p. V, donan p. U. 42 costas IKMVa. 43 sil mieilhs tr. AMNRUa, fiel quel miels V, que miel IKQ. 45 era car IKMQa, eras cum UV. 46 sauis AIKUV, uos sabi qui iviaz Q, uos autres R. 47 fô R, dons d. AQ, fos Q, fols Y. 48 cum er AIKMNQRUVa.

49 ff. *This stanza is wanting in V.* 49 mas na lezer sim U (*rime words as in I*). 51, 52 transposed IKMQRa, 52 wanting in IK. 52 qa fol IKMQ, qe fol R, car fol a, ten yeu R, teig eu a. 53 qui se gasta e d. AIK, gaste N. 54 uire C, nis vicia malanz Q, malenans U. 55 nom U.

cui iois par nesciatges:
 que ricors ni paratges
 er greu qui no·s nualh
 puois qu' alegressa falh
 60 e no·s camje viatz;
 doncx que·us valra rictatz
 si ia no·us alegratz?
 qu' emperis e regnatz
 son ses ioi paubretatz.

V.

65 Mas l'adreitx cors qu'ieu vuell
 e desir e reblan
 m'a trait d'ir'e d'afan;
 e si jois la·m condui
 no sabran ja mas dui
 70 los entresseins ni·ls mans;
 que tortz es grans
 e sobeirans follatges
 quan per nescis messatges
 vilans e d'avol talh
 75 escapa del guinsalh
 ni·s fuig bon amistatz:
 mas ieu·m sui ben gardatz
 que no·n sia encolpatz,
 qu'uei non es vius ni natz
 80 per qu'ieu en fos proatz.

56 cui par iois IKQ. 57 cui sabers ni MR, quel r. IK, que ricx cors C,
 qo o sober Q, ca sabeiz ni a. 58 non es que n. IKMQRa. 59 pos al: M,
 pos alegran san f. C, puois alegransai f. IK, pos alegransail f. MQRa, pois allegra
 soau f. U. 60 e nois A, e no Q, e nous R. 61 e queus AIKMNRa,
 rectag Q, rieraitz a. 64 e ses AMR, esses IKN.
 65 *Rime words as in I.* 67 traig A, trag MN, trais Q, ira e
 ACIKQR. 68 men condui AV, mi condui IKQU, la condui R. 69 ia
 non s. mas AMNRa, nol s. QU. 70 entresels R, co sentresems a. 71 qenueis
 es MR, que auiatz es a. 72 sobre grans V, sobreire N. 73 per maluatx
 AN. 74 ni dauol AMNQU. 75 escampa A, escapar N, seschapa IK.
 76 ni f. AMQRVa, fui MQVa. 77 mas ieu sui C, mas ieu me sui garatz R.
 78 qanc non MQRa, fui en: MR, encusatz IKQV. 79 qe non A, quoi U,
 quanc non fo IK, quo non Q, aiei non es nuis a. 80 cui anc en fos privatx
 A, per cuy ieu fos R, uns per qen fos a, en] *wanting* V.

VI.

- E·l espleitz si·m acuelh,
 so que·ilh querrai cantan,
 remaign' al sieu coman;
 qu'ab gens plazers redui
 85 quan no·s part ni·s defui
 l'adreitz cors benestans,
 ni·l bels semblans
 ni·l amoros usatges.
 qu'avinens es lo gatges
 90 que del cor als huelhs salh
 per qu'ieu, qui queis baralh
 ni s'apelhe forsatz
 me teing a ben menatz
 quan truep ben acordatz
 95 lo coratg'e la fatz
 e·ls ditz ben enseignatz.

VII.

- E puois enans no valh
 ni non sui aizinatz,
 bels seigner, sufertatz
 100 qu'ieu chant ab sos sufratz;
 conose ben que·l comiatz
 porta plus de mil gratz.

VIII.

- A·n Sobretotz digatz,
 vos que mon chan portatz,
 105 que sai s'es tant tardatz
 qu'el en semblara fatz.

81 els esplegz sils macuoill C, ai es: *a*, sil V, e sil plag qlh macuoill R.
 82 querran Q, querra *a*. 83 tan remaingal U, son coman IK. 84 qabels
 p. M, cab bels *a*, cab bel R, quien p. IK. 85 can non uolu MV, quant nos
 uol IKQ, quan nos uole R, can nos uolu mi d. *a*. 86 benistans Ma. 87 ni
 bels A, nil gens Q, francs gen parlanz IK. 90 qe dels hueilhs al cor s.
 MQRa, qant dels cor ab los oils s. U. 91 trebail *a*. 92 sa pella U.
 93 men teing IK, cum ten per ben pagaz Q, a dreg menatz Ra. 94 quan
 los trop ac: A. 95 lo uisatge ab la AIK (IK *hardly legible*). 96 ditz
 enamoratz M, ensegraz Q.

VII *Only in A and IK*. 98 non son IK. 100 ab cosofratz A, que
 chan cab so suefratz IK. 102 mal gratz IK.

VIII *Only in AIKQ*. 103 anz s. Q. 105 sai soi tan Q. 106 qu en
 semblera f. IK, qeu en senblami f. Q.

TRANSLATION.

I. The instruments and the good spirit with which I was wont to sing, I have which I had before: but as I find none with whom to delight or disport myself, I am by no means in good case. Ah God, what loss and what misfortune results therefrom! For joy and good manners are so minished and failing (that) there is no check thereto: but, as joy and song and cheerfulness please my lord, I disport myself with his friends, and when I am removed thence, I vex myself with the grieved.

II. But need drives me forth and so I go looking to see if they will ever become cheerful: and I by no means flee from joy or withdraw myself from pleasure; on the contrary, song is ever my delight and pleasant bustle and courts and knightly service. High birth is even now lost to the rich; he seems a fine fellow in his mirror, to whom knighthood is not brilliant without spurs; and if the father was praised and the son become a villain, it seems to me wrong and a sin that he should have the inheritance.

III. But what right admits this, that the son should have as much revenue and put worth to shame? And what reasoning brings it about that another should not hold it more worthily (*i.e.* the money)? For more than a thousand years ago, fief and lordship were conferred for a man's worth and courage and pains and toils. And the son, if he does not pass all limits (of decency), does not lose his rank (*i.e.* degenerate); now, you wise ones, why do you not show me what your opinion is? If to the excellent you give a foolish gift, how shall it be with those who are despised?

IV. But it will be a sin if I withdraw from song and pleasure, because of those who shall go astray; count him a fool who ruins himself and does not reform when he is sick: I know by name as many as there are to whom joy appears folly. There will be hardly wealth or birth which does not come to naught after cheerfulness fails and does not change at once (from failing). Then what will wealth avail you, if you are never joyous? For empires and kingdoms are poverty without joy.

V. But the upright heart that I wish and desire and flatter, has withdrawn me from anger and grief, and if joy escorts her to me, not more than two will know the signals and the missives: for it is great

wrong and supreme folly when, through a scoundrel messenger, low born and of evil bearing, good friendship escapes and flees from the leading strings. But I have kept myself carefully that I be not blamed on that account: for there is not to-day a living soul by whom I would be called in question for it.

VI. And the result, if she receives me, which I shall ask her (to do) in song, let that remain at her disposal: for with good pleasure the upright sound heart, if it does not depart or flee, brings back the fair bearing and the loving treatment. For delightful is the pledge which rises from the heart to the eyes: wherefore, let him who will, dispute and call himself outraged, I consider myself well treated when I find these in accord, namely, the heart with the face and the words well chosen.

VII. And since I can no more avail and have no more opportunity, fair lord, suffer me to sing with feeble song; I know well that leave-taking brings more than a thousand thanks.

VIII. Say to Sir Sobretotz, you who bear my song, that it has delayed here so long that it will seem foolish for it.

NOTES.

16 A better antithesis could be obtained by reading *sos* (against the authority of all the mss.) instead of *los*. In this case, *sos* in l. 14 would be regarded as the substantive (*sonus*): 'I disport myself with private songs (for my lord's ear only); and when I am far from this kind of composition, I give vent to my grief in songs of wrath.' On the question whether *iratz* is from *irar* or represents *iratus* from *irascor*, see Levy, *Suppl. Wörterbuch*, whose quotations seem decisive in favour of *irar*.

21 *ni·ls* should be *ni als*. I have no example to hand of this crasis.

25 If *als bos* be read, the meaning will be: 'high birth is lost to the good, i.e., brings no reputation'; 'riches only count.'

26f. *esperonalh* seems to be ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. Levy quotes this passage only, of which he says: 'ich verstehe die Stelle nicht.' The *Glossaire occitanien* translates the word as 'éperon.' I understand the passage to mean that the rich think only of outward show; spurs, not virtue, make the knight in their opinion. It is also conceivable that *miralh* and *esperonalh* may be intended to bear a metaphorical sense: in this case I should read *bos* in l. 25 and *que·us* in 27 and translate: 'it seems fitting in his opinion (i.e. the good man's) that one should not be accounted a noble without doughty deeds.' This rendering places an excessive strain upon *miralh*, and *son* is awkward after the plural *bos*. For the metaphorical use of *miralh* see Stimming, *B. de Born* (Edition of 1892), ix, 29, whence the sense of 'opinion' is possible as a further development.

29ff. Kolsen (*op. cit.*, p. 138) quotes this passage as an opposition to ll. 45—47 of *No·s pot sofrir ma lenga*:

Car qui mor bos, sivans gazonha tan
que pres de se dieus lo vai coronan,
e lascia rics ses filhs de sa nomansa.

These lines are quoted in a poem entitled *S(erventes) le Trobair de Villa Arnaut* (Bartsch, *Denkmäler*, p. 137), stanza 4:

en tota malventeira
viu cel q'i no tem vergeira
q'en Girautz dis de(n) Borneira
qe tortz es e granz pecul
qel fils tenga atretul
de renda el prez so soneira,
qe miels tainh trop as autrul
qen sapcha son devieira.

On these false rimes Bartsch observes 'die Reimworte sind malaventura, vergonha, Bornelh, peccatz, atretan, autrui, dever; soneira weiss ich nicht zu deuten.' As Kolsen points out (*loc. cit.*) the word is *soan*.

39 *mil ans*. An intentional exaggeration; as we should say, 'from time immemorial.' This is a difficult passage; the argument seems to be *a fortiori*: 'if on the worthy you bestow a foolish gift (of wealth, which is foolish because it is retained irrespective of merit) what do you propose to give those whom you despise? Surely nothing, and therefore the bad ought to be poor.' I owe this rendering to Professor A. T. Baker of the University of Sheffield, who has kindly read this article in manuscript. I had proposed to translate: 'if to the excellent you give a foolish gift, how shall it be one of things despised?' the argument being that, as the son loses rank by his misdeeds, so he should lose his wealth, which ought to be given to the good. You may call that a foolish gift, but it would ennoble the wealth, which would then be in the hands of a good man and be no longer despised, as it is despised when possessed by the bad.

55 *per non*, i.e. there are very few of them: as we say, I could count them on one hand. *Non* for *nom* (except in U) is, however, unusual.

66 *reblan*. Kolsen (*op. cit.*, p. 115) says: '*reblandir* heisst nicht "anbeten," sondern "sich (durch Schmeicheleien, Versprechungen) jem. wieder geneigt machen wollen"' and quotes this passage.

75 *guinsalh*, rope, especially the hangman's rope. Levy quotes *Liv. Synd. Bearn*, p. 53, l. 24: 'que los sie deffendut tote pilherie sus pere deu guinsalh,' and adds for the passage, 'Leitseil, figürlich.' It sounds more like a mountaineering metaphor than 'leading-strings' imply. Cf. Godefroy, *Dict.*, *guinsal*.

100 *sufrazt*, from *sofranher* (*manquer*), which should, however, be *sofraitz*.

103 *Sobretotz*, a pseudonym of constant occurrence in Giraut's poems. See the *razo* to *Si per mon Sobretotz no fos*.

105, 106 i.e. the song will appear feeble when the time consumed in its composition is considered.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

‘MERRY GREEK.’

THE origin of this expression in the sense of ‘boon companion,’ and its historical relation to *merry grig*, have not yet, as far as I am aware, been determined. When the article *Greek* was written for the Oxford English Dictionary Dr Bradley was in a position to say no more than that ‘the difference of recorded date [*gay greke* 1536, *merygreeke* as the name of a character in *Roister Doister*, a. 1553, and *merry grig* 1566] is too slight to afford ground for saying that *merry Greek* is the original.’ The following scraps of evidence may, however, point to the direction in which a solution of the difficulty is to be looked for.

In the fifteenth century alliterative *Alexander* (edited by Prof. Skeat for the Early English Text Society) the collocation *merry Greek* occurs in the line

þe mayntenance of þe Messedoynes & of þe meri Grekis (line 1179, Ashmole MS.).

Considered entirely by itself, this instance might be taken to have no more significance than other alliterative epithets coupled with *Greeks* in the same poem; viz., *mony* in the Dublin MS. version of this same line, and in both MSS. in line 1279, and *trewe* in line 986 (alliterating with *Traces* and *Tessaloyne*). But taken in conjunction with the two following passages from Shakspeare’s *Troilus and Cressida*

Then she’s a merry Greek indeed (1. 2. 118),

A woful Cressid ’mongst the merry Greeks (4. 4. 58)

—in both of which the reference is, of course, to actual Greeks—and with the development of the transferred meaning, it would seem to have a distinct value. It suggests the possibility of the occurrence of *merry Greek* (or perhaps *gay Greek*) as a conventional commonplace in some once-well-known version of the *Alexander* or the *Troy* story. This conjecture receives some support from the prominence given to the joyous mood of the Greeks in the earlier part of the twelfth century French *Alexandriade*. In the first hundred pages of the 1861 edition of this romance there are at least five instances in which their rejoicing is dwelt upon in such language as the following:—*Griu en ont grant*

ioie eue (17/271), *Li Griois sont ioiant qui le cop ont veu* (69/111), *La veiscies per l'ost les Grius mult esbaudis* (101/120).

The above considerations make at least for some probability in favour of *merry Greek* being the original form of the phrase and *merry grig* merely an alteration of it.

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

SENECA, JONSON, DANIEL AND WORDSWORTH.

Wordsworth in *The Excursion*, iv, 330, 331, introduces two lines from Daniel's poem, *To the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland*:

unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is Man!

Wordsworth says Daniel translated them from Seneca, but does not give the reference. This is *Nat. Quaest., Praef.*, 4: 'O quam contempta res est homo nisi supra humana surrexerit!' I find in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, i, 5, 30, another turning of the same thought:

O how despise and base a thing is a man,
If he not striue t'erect his groueling thoughts
Aboue the straine of flesh!

As *Cynthia's Revels* was acted in 1600, and Daniel's poem (published 1603) was apparently written about 1599 (see *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*), it is probable that neither Daniel nor Jonson borrowed from the other, but each independently from Seneca.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

'A HEADLESS BEAR.'

Puck. Sometime a horse I'll be, sometime a hound,
A hog, a *headless bear*, sometime a fire;
And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and *roar*, and burn,
Like horse, hound, hog, bear, fire, at every turn.

(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 1.)

In the Arden edition there is no note on this curious phenomenon of a headless bear roaring, but in the Cambridge Shakespeare I find that two conjectures are recorded. Instead of *headless* Delius proposes *heedless*, and Gould *curbless*. No one seems to have thought of *leadless*, or *leaderless*. A *lead* is still used (a 'dog-lead' is often called a 'lead'), and *leadless* seems preferable to *leaderless*, as involving less change. Although a 'lugged bear' (if 'lugged' means lugged about the country by a bear-leader) is a 'melancholy' beast, a bear that breaks its *lead*, and rages and roars, is a terrifying object—a true bug-bear—and therefore fitted for Puck's purpose.

H. LITLEDALE.

‘DEEP PATHAIRES’ (*Arden of Feversham*, III, v, 51).

In the *Athenaeum* of December 24, 1903, Mr W. Headlam proposed to explain this well-known crux by reading *pathaines*, in the sense of ‘passionings,’ from the Greek *παθαίνουαι*. Mr Headlam is unable to accept Mr Gollancz’s conjecture *petarres*, i.e., ‘petards,’ ‘explosive mines.’ Delius proposed *deep-fet aires*. I have to add one more guess to the list. In dealing with any Elizabethan crux of the kind, it has always been my habit to write out the words in a sixteenth century hand, so as to get some idea of how the MS. may have looked to the printer. The passage in *Arden* (Temple Classics Edition, p. 54) is as follows:

Alice. But I will dam that fire in my breast
Till by the force thereof my part consumes.
Ah, Mosbie!
Mosbie. Such deep pathaires, like to a cannon’s burst
Discharg’d against a ruined wall,
Breaks my relenting heart in thousand pieces.

Alice’s ‘Ah, Mosbie’ is intended to be a very deep sigh, as Mr Headlam says he could understand Mosbie to mean. This is in fact Mosbie’s meaning. Writing in Elizabethan script the word *pathaires*, I am struck by the facility with which it might be misread for *suspires*, and I believe that the dramatist here really wrote ‘Such *deep suspires*’—*suspiria de profundis*—‘breake my relenting heart to pieces.’ Her ‘deep suspires’ intensify his anguish of mind (cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 79: ‘windy suspiration of forced breath’). I made this conjecture some time ago, but only lately did I hit on an interesting confirmation of it. In Heywood’s *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, 1635, p. 516, Heywood has:

And fetching many a *deep suspire* and groan,
His melanch’ly grew almost to despaire.

The chronology is rather in the way of *Arden* being one of the plays in which Heywood had a ‘maine finger,’ but it is in the manner of his domestic tragedy, and the question whether he had any part in the authorship might be worth investigating.

H. LITTLEDALE.

REVIEWS.

Growth and Structure of the English Language. By OTTO JESPERSEN.
Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. 8vo. iv + 260 pp.

Within the last few years many books dealing with the history and structure of the English Language have appeared, both in England and America. The names of Toller, Bradley, Emerson and Lounsbury need only be mentioned to recall to our minds a few of the best known. To the names of such we may now add that of Dr Jespersen, already well-known as a student of language generally, and of English in particular. The Danish professor has succeeded in fulfilling what might well be deemed the impossible task of writing a really new and original book on this well-worn theme.

In the first portion of the book, dealing with the development of vocabulary, Dr Jespersen is full of suggestions and is often wholesomely sceptical as to some of our most cherished ideas. We may mention, as examples, the suggestion that the wealth of synonyms for ideas connected with the sea, found in Old English Poetry, was characteristic of a nation that had *once* been seafarers; the hypothesis that the characteristic diction of old English poetry, as distinct from prose, is to be ascribed, not to Anglian influence, but to a poetical *koinē* or standard language; the masterly characterising of the influence of the Scandinavian invasions on the English language; the attack on the theory that the development of the classical element in the language is commendable on the score of international intelligibility, and tends to greater exactness of expression.

In the chapters dealing with grammar, Dr Jespersen works on the lines of his *Progress in Language*, largely with the same happy results. He next treats of the language of Shakespeare, and of poetry generally. His account of Shakespeare is interesting, but is at times too subtle in its distinctions, as when he endeavours to show that Shylock is characterised by certain peculiarities of vocabulary and idiom, even in matters not belonging particularly to his creed or profession. In the concluding chapter, we have an attempt to estimate the position of English among the languages of the world, and a prophecy of its future estate.

Throughout the book Dr Jespersen has made frequent and acknowledged use of the *New English Dictionary*, and has through this means

been enabled to add greatly to the value of his work by abundant citation of examples, often tending to disprove the hidebound theories of the older grammarians and lexicographers. At the same time, he has been occasionally misled by the great wealth of material at his command in the dictionary and by his own extraordinarily intimate knowledge of English idiom. There is at times apparent in the book a tendency to lay too much stress upon isolated examples of word or phrase. This is perhaps seen most clearly in the chapter dealing with the classical elements in English, where it somewhat vitiates the investigator's results.

Other points on which one would like to join issue with the writer are his belief in a certain tendency towards prudery and euphemism in modern English, and his scepticism as to the usual estimates of the relative numbers of words used by various writers and members of different ranks of society. Also, though it savours of ungraciousness to reproach a foreigner with it, a good many students will probably doubt the truth of much of the eulogium which Dr Jespersen so liberally showers upon the English language.

The book should be read by all serious students of the history of English, for it is brimfull of suggestions and should stimulate all alike to further effort and investigation.

ALLEN MAWER.

Pedantius. A Latin Comedy formerly acted in Trinity College, Cambridge. Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, VIII.) Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1905. 1+164 pp.

There have been numerous evidences of late that the English academic drama, and its relations to the popular stage, are being more attentively studied than hitherto. Not the least welcome of these is the present edition of *Pedantius*, which forms Volume VIII of the valuable series of *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* now appearing under the general editorship of Professor Bang of Louvain. Professor Moore Smith is to be congratulated upon his enterprise in wandering from the 'beaten way' of commentators, and in making generally accessible this neglected but important memorial of the sixteenth century Latin drama. His collation of the text of the quarto of 1631—printed about half-a-century after the first performance of the play—with that of the MS. in the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, has never been attempted before and gives most interesting results. While there can be no reasonable doubt that the MS. version is the earlier, Professor Moore Smith in the first section of his Introduction fairly establishes his contention that 'neither is in all points nearer to the original form of the play than the other.'

When did this 'original form' come into being? The quarto has a prefatory statement that the play, when printed, was 40 years old,

i.e. produced first in 1591. But this cannot be correct, for Sir J. Harington writing in that year uses words which imply that he and the Earl of Essex were present at a performance of *Pedantius* in Cambridge at a considerably earlier date. From a comparison of Harington's words with references by Nash to the play in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, Professor Moore Smith arrives at the result that the 'play was brought out between the winter of 1580 and July, 1581.' This is probably correct, though it is somewhat venturesome, considering the frequency of College performances at this time, to seek to identify *Pedantius* as one of the 'playes' on which the Junior Bursar of Trinity (as recorded in his account-book) laid out £5. 14s. 8½d. on 6 February, 1580/1.

The authorship of *Pedantius* is as difficult to determine as its date, and here the editor's conclusion is less convincing. Professor Moore Smith indeed disposes effectively, once and for all, of the baseless claims of W. Hawkesworth, the writer of a later academic play, *Leander*, and of Dr Beard, the Puritan tutor of Oliver Cromwell, though the piece has been assigned to each of them in different articles of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But between the two serious candidates, Anthony Winkfield or (as the name is more commonly spelt) Wingfield, to whom the play is assigned by Nash in *Strange Newes*, and Edward Forcet or Forsett, who figures as author in the Caius College ms., Professor Moore Smith inclines to the latter, though with the qualifying clause that 'probably more hands than one were engaged on' the comedy. There is, however, no evidence external or internal in support of this theory of joint-authorship, and it seems to me that Wingfield's claim is far better substantiated than that of Forsett, who having matriculated first at Christ's College, became a Scholar of Trinity in 1571, and a Fellow in 1574. There is nothing in the interesting details of his life collected by Professor Moore Smith which points to his having been the man to write a broadly satirical comedy, and before giving credit to the attribution of authorship in the Caius ms. we should want to know when and by whom it was made. Nash, on the other hand, is a first-rate witness to Wingfield's claim. The novelist and pamphleteer had matriculated as a sizar of St John's in October, 1582, and may have been in Cambridge a year before matriculation. Thus he began his University career soon after the play, on Professor Moore Smith's own showing, was produced, and as he had himself 'a hand in a show called *Terminus et non Terminus*,' in which he acted 'the Varlet of Clubs,' he must have been thoroughly familiar with the academic drama of his day. Moreover the passage in *Strange Newes*, which Professor Moore Smith does not quote fully, bears upon it, as it seems to me, the stamp of authentic knowledge of the *provenance* of the play. 'My muse,' cries Nash to Gabriel Harvey, 'never wept for want of maintenance, as thine did in *Musarum lachrimæ* that was miserably flouted at in M. Winkfield's Comœdie of *Pedantius* in Trinity College.' Here the pamphleteer speaks as if Wingfield's authorship were a matter of common note; had he been wrong, there must have been hundreds of Cambridge men, including

Harvey himself, who in 1593, when *Strange Newes* was published, could have brought him to book. Moreover Nash is right in his statement that Harvey's *Musarum Lachrimæ* was ridiculed in *Pedantius* (Act v. Sc. vi. ll. 2860-1); and in *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596) there is a remarkable passage quoted by Professor Moore Smith in his Introduction, pp. ix-x, which shows still more fully how intimately acquainted he was with the personal references in the play and the mode of its production. Can it then be supposed that he was likely to be mistaken about such an elementary fact as its authorship? Wingfield, too, had a powerful motive for writing a satirical comedy directed against Harvey. Elected Scholar of Trinity in 1573, minor Fellow in 1576, and major Fellow in 1577, he had been for a time Reader in Greek to the Queen, and in March, 1580/1, was Harvey's successful rival for the office of Public Orator of the University. The contest was long-drawn and bitter, and Wingfield, who was an accomplished classical scholar, may well have bethought himself of turning academic feeling against his antagonist by a caricatured representation of him on the Trinity boards.

The editor's distrust of Nash's statement as to the authorship of *Pedantius* is the more noticeable as he makes such effective use of the pamphleteer's testimony in other ways. Nothing could be more satisfactory than his exposition of how the play is related to 'conventional Plautine comedy,' and yet differentiated from it by its satire of an individual instead of a type. The suggestion, based on internal evidence, that '*Pedantius* had been preceded by a comedy much nearer to the Plautine and earlier Italian type' is ingenious and plausible, and the discussion of the union in the titular figure of traits common to the love-sick pedant of southern comedy with others peculiar to the Cambridge humanist and fop is excellent. Indeed Section VII of the Introduction—in which Professor Moore Smith, taking as his basis Nash's satirical description of Harvey, shows that they correspond in detail with characteristics exhibited by *Pedantius*, and that favourite phrases from the pompous rhetorician's works are put into the mouth of his theatrical 'double'—is not only of first-rate value in its bearing on the play, but is a novel contribution to Elizabethan biography.

Did space allow, there are other features of the comedy over which one would gladly linger, such as the diverting contrast between *Pedantius* the humanist and the logic-chopping philosopher, *Dromodotus*. The latter may, like his friend, have been a caricature of some 'Don' of the day. I agree with Professor Moore Smith in rejecting the theory of Messrs Churchill and Keller (*Shakspeare-Jahrbuch*, xxxiv, pp. 275 *et seq.*), that Shakspeare was influenced by these two figures in his portraiture of *Holofernes* and *Sir Nathaniel*. If any of his early works owes something to Cambridge playwrights, it is not *Love's Labour's Lost* but *Richard III.*

Even readers to whom verbal wit, sometimes, it must be confessed, fatiguingly spun out makes but slight appeal, can scarcely fail to enjoy the humours of the interview between *Pedantius* and his tailor, or of

the ill-starred courtship by the scholar of the serving-maid, Lydia. As they turn over the pages of this admirable edition, they will, I believe, pronounce the play as 'full of harmless mirth' as in the days of Sir John Harington. And they will feel indebted to Professor Moore Smith for the very full notes, explanatory and illustrative, which he has provided. Some of the parallel passages cited from Elizabethan writers may be thought superfluous in a volume which will chiefly attract specialists, but the varied and interesting quotations from classical, mediaeval, and renaissance Latinists are illuminating and helpful in a high degree.

F. S. BOAS.

The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene. Edited with introductions and notes, by J. CHURTON COLLINS. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. 2 vols. 8vo. xii + 319 and 415 pp.

'When the Delegates of the Clarendon Press entrusted me with the preparation of an edition of Greene's Plays and Poems I determined to spare no pains to make it, so far at least as the text was concerned, a final one.' Such, Professor Churton Collins tells us, was the excellent intention with which he set about his work. He appears to have recognised, what no competent critic will probably deny, that the business of an editor is primarily with his author's text, that it is in that department that he can do the most valuable and lasting work, and that biographical, critical, and exegetical matter are at once more easily superseded and intrinsically less important. No editor possesses unlimited time, patience, or knowledge, and where the main object of a work is attained much may be excused in other and subordinate matters. It will, therefore, be only fair to remember that the preparation of a final text has been the editor's chief concern.

The introduction, or rather introductions, however, first call for attention, and it will be convenient before criticising Professor Collins' work in detail, to deal with one or two general considerations. No one in the first place can help noticing throughout the editor's laxity of expression and indifference to accuracy in matters of detail. Instances occur on almost every page, and a very few examples must suffice. On pp. 52-3 some footnotes have apparently been transposed, with the result that Dyce is made to quote from a non-extant work and Greene's *Repentance* is confused with that of one Ned Brown who was hanged at Aix. A note on p. 17 assigns Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* to Greene and also gives a false reference. Note 1 on p. 10 is either misprinted or so clumsy as to be unintelligible. Indeed the style is frequently careless to the point of obscurity. *Alphonsus* and *Orlando* are styled tragedies (57), which they are not in the accepted meaning of that term in English; rime royal is called 'stanza royal' (63), thus inviting confusion with 'chant royal'; and the obsolete and ambiguous term 'active' for 'transitive' is persistently employed. The same book is mentioned twice over in the course of three lines in a list of works on p. 21. Titles are quoted in the loosest manner. It does not tend to clearness to

cite Meres' *Palladis Tamia* as *Wits Treasury*, (53) still less as 'Mere's [*sic*] Works' (59). The title of Lodge's well-known poem on the tale of Glaucus and Scilla is misprinted *Sulla's Metamorphosis* (138). Marlowe's play is called by the title of Goethe's (139). The habit of referring to works by their second titles is one to be deprecated. To call *Volpone* and *Epicoene* the *Fox* and the *Silent Woman* is, indeed, allowed by custom, and no great harm is done by citing *Menaphon* as *Arcadia*, though, as there are already at least five works bearing that title, it seems hardly necessary to add to their number; but to refer to such a comparatively obscure play as *Jack Drum's Entertainment* as the *Pleasant Comedie of Pasquil and Katherine* is surely to darken counsel unduly. Greater precision of reference might also be desired. On p. 216 four lines are quoted from the *Old Wives' Tale* as being similar to some passage in *Orlando*, but to what passage is not stated (actually ll. 66, etc.). At the end of the 'Hystory' of *George a Greene*—which, by the way, might just as well have been given in full—is printed the ballad of the *Pinder of Wakefield*, the source of which, however, is not mentioned. At the end of this appears the note: 'Another old Ballad. "The Iudgment of God shew'd vpon Dr Iohn Faustus." Tune of—"Fortune my Fee [*sic*]"' which does not seem to relate to anything in particular. It may be incidentally remarked that such bowdlerisation as that on p. 31, where a bracketed word has been substituted for that used by Greene, is puerile in a book of this sort. One great defect of the work, lastly, is the want of a chronological catalogue of Greene's writings, together with those of the 'numerous assailants' with whom he is credited on p. 21.

Having disposed of these general considerations, it is possible to pass on to consider the Introduction in detail. It may at once be said that Professor Collins has treated the problems of Greene's biography with robust common sense, and has steadily refused to be misled by specious identifications or ingenious conjecture. If he has erred, it is in underrating the importance of inferential arguments, and in discounting, at too heavy a rate, unwelcome evidence. Indeed, when he says that Henslowe's '*gorge a gren*' is 'presumably the *Pinner of Wakefield*,' and that Greene's 'Shake-scene' is probably Shakespeare, it is clear that caution has degenerated into affectation. When, however, the work is considered more closely, it assumes a less satisfactory appearance. To discuss all or even the majority of the points which must strike the reader is quite out of the question. A very few of the more important only can be dealt with here. On p. 23 the Professor writes: 'Among the men of letters of that time [Greene] could number among his intimate acquaintances...Robert Lee, an actor and dramatist.' Greene dedicated the second part of *Mamilla* to Robert Lee, 'Esquire,' whom he addresses as 'Your Worship.' Professor Collins has confused this person with an obscure actor who is first heard of for certain five years after Greene's death, and who, moreover, was not a dramatist, the play he sold to Henslowe being evidently an old stock-piece. On p. 41 the editor repeats the usual common-place, that 'The plain object of

[Nashe's Preface to *Menaphon*] is to pour contempt on Marlowe,' but no more than any of his predecessors does he attempt to explain the contradiction between this view and Nashe's explicit statement: 'Further...bee it knowne...I never abusd Marloe...in my life' (ed. McKerrow, III. p. 131). On p. 44 no authority is quoted with regard to a lost *History of Job* accredited to Greene. The Professor proceeds: 'The appearance of Harington's *Ariosto* in 1591, as I have shown in the [special] Introduction, almost certainly suggested [*Orlando*].' In the passage he refers to it is shown clearly that the play owes nothing to the translation, and indeed that 'Harington's version could hardly have been in Greene's hands' (217)! On p. 47 he thinks that Greene's wife 'sent her commendations, possibly in answer to the letter' printed in the *Groatsworth*; but that letter, as the work itself informs us, was 'found with this book after his death.' On p. 61 Professor Collins mentions Malone's identification of the 'Musaeus' of Chettle's *England's Mourning Garment* with Marlowe, and pronounces it to be impossible, Marlowe having died ten years previously. 'Musaeus,' he says, must be Chapman. Next time the Professor wishes to correct his predecessors he will do well to look up the facts of the case. It so happens that Chapman is also introduced by Chettle under the name of Corin, who is described as the poet 'that finished dead Musaeus' gracious song'! Referring to the problem of *Henry VI* on p. 68, Professor Collins writes: 'Though, as we have already seen, the famous passage in the *Groatsworth* is ambiguous, in spite of the light apparently thrown on it by Chettle and "R. B.," still in *Greenes Funeralls* the quotation of a line which is almost certainly a parody of a line in the *True Tragedie* points to some association with that play.' 'As we have already seen'—yes, in a footnote twenty pages back, to which no clue is given, and to which the reference in the Index is wrong! Moreover, no 'R. B.' has been previously mentioned nor any parody pointed out in the *Funeralls*. It so happens, however, that this work is signed 'R. B.,' so that it would appear probable that what the Professor meant to write was 'by Chettle and "R. B." in *Greenes Funeralls*; still the quotation' etc. Thus emended the sentence at least makes sense, though it remains very clumsy, since the reader is left to draw on his own knowledge of Shakespearian controversy for the identification of the passage in question.

Three points deserve fuller consideration: Greene's alleged repentance in 1590, the date at which he became a playwright, and the authorship of *Selimus* and *George a Greene*. In the seriousness of Greene's reformation after he had been accused of writing the *Cobler of Canterbury*, it is difficult to share the Professor's belief. That Greene's conscience was at times uneasy may readily be imagined, and it would be uncharitable not to accept as genuine his death-bed repentance. But the commercial use he made of his periodical attacks of hysterical remorse certainly suggests a considerable literary element in his pretended reformation. As the Professor admits, his life showed no signs of amendment and his writings stood in no need of it. There

is consequently a strong suspicion that Greene found either that his vein for amorous romance was running dry, or else that the taste for it was passing, and that he deliberately adopted the machinery of a repentance by way of explaining and advertising a change of style. Indeed, in the *Vision* itself the remarks of Chaucer to the effect that there was nothing discreditable in the *Cobler* read so like a sly vindication of that brilliant but offensive work, as seriously to discount Greene's denial of the authorship. Certainly, although he had abjured novel-writing, he never hesitated to publish works of this nature whenever he saw a profitable opportunity and could invent a plausible excuse. For *Never too Late* he claimed indulgence in the *Vision* itself. He followed it up by a second part called *Francisco's Fortunes*, which he excused as a continuation. Next he dedicated to Lady Fitzwater a novel, *Philomela*, representing that he had written it long before at the request of a noble lady, 'a Countesse in this land,' which may or may not have been the case. This may also suggest a reason for his borrowing Lodge's name, should *Euphues' Shadow* ultimately prove to be his. The moral intention of the Coney-catching pamphlets to which he next turned his attention cannot be taken seriously. Greene maintained his old manner of life, and determined to turn his knowledge of crime to literary account. The stories, as Professor Collins admits, are told 'with a gusto and raciness which savours sometimes more of sympathy than satire,' and Greene's assertion that he associated with the sharpers whose tricks he exposed 'not as a companion, but as a spie to have an insight into their knaveries' is belied by all that we know of his London life. That his pamphlets 'struck terror into the scoundrels with whom they declared war,' and that these sought his life, rests merely on Greene's own assertion and is a trick of self-advertisement which need not be taken more seriously than any other of his quasi-autobiographical fictions. His mistress, the sister of a notorious rascal who had already danced at Tyburn, was one of the few people who tended him on his death-bed. He was always threatening to expose the names and haunts of villains in a Black Book, but even when he knew himself to be dying, he only dared to compose the *Black Book's Messenger*.

The date at which Greene began to write for the stage is one of the most important and most difficult questions that his biographer has to face. Professor Collins has contradicted himself hopelessly on the subject. The question largely turns upon the interpretation of an important but obscure passage in the Preface to *Perimedes*, dated 1588. This will be found quoted at length on p. 40. The meaning evidently is that Greene had been scoffed at on the stage either for not attempting to write tragedies, or else for having attempted and failed. Professor Collins proceeds to argue very sensibly, and with great show of reason, that the latter is the correct interpretation. This would place *Alphonsus*, which we may reasonably assume to be the earliest of the plays here printed, immediately after the production of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in 1587. This is exactly where one would

naturally place it on grounds of style, and other evidence also points to a date not later than 1588. On pp. 74-5, however, Professor Collins, having apparently forgotten all that he has written on p. 40, proceeds to quote the same passage over again and to argue in a diametrically opposite direction, maintaining that Greene wrote no play before 1591! He does not appear to realise the difficulty his theory entails in assigning no less than six dramas to the last twenty months of Greene's life in addition to a quantity of work of a non-dramatic kind. There is, moreover, one argument which Professor Collins has either overlooked or disregarded, which would seem to show conclusively that Greene began writing for the stage at least as early as 1587. In the *Groatsworth* Roberto, meeting the player who is famous in the parts of Delphrigus and the King of Fairies, is induced to become playwright to the company. Now without unduly pressing the resemblance between Greene and Roberto—his 'life in most parts agreeing with mine'—it is fair to argue that such a detail as this must be a personal recollection, and that Greene must have begun writing for some company at a time when the plays mentioned still held the stage. But in his Preface to *Menaphon* Nashe speaks of some of his literary friends, in a manner which certainly does not exclude Greene, as having made the fortune of a 'company of taffaty fooles,' who but for them 'might haue antickt it vntill this time vp and downe the Countrey with the King of Fairies, and dined euery day at the pease porredge ordinary with Delfrigus.' Greene began playwriting when these were the popular pieces; they are mentioned as obsolete in 1589. Consequently 1587 may be taken as the very latest date assignable to the commencement of Greene's theatrical career. Besides 1591 is too late a date even for *Orlando*, which must be after *Alphonsus*. There are two passages common to *Orlando* and Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*. The latter, Professor Collins remarks, 'almost certainly appeared in 1590, but this will not help, because it is impossible to say whether Peele copied from Greene or Greene from Peele.' He has omitted to remark that the character Sacrepant (or Sacrapant) is also common to the two plays. This Greene took from Ariosto and consequently Peele must have taken both it and the common passages from Greene.

The attribution of *Selimus* to Greene proposed by Grosart is strongly combated by the present editor. Nevertheless, after all deductions have been made, the reader will probably feel that Allot's testimony remains of considerable weight, and that some at least of Grosart's parallels remain significant. Such negative argument, moreover, as is forthcoming is hardly convincing. 'It seems perfectly clear,' writes Professor Collins, 'that [*Selimus*] was originally one of the old-fashioned rhymed plays, and that it had been re-cast and interpolated with blank verse in consequence of the popularity of Marlowe's innovation.' Since no reasons are adduced, it may be sufficient to meet assertion by assertion and to submit that the play was begun on the lines of a Senecan tragedy in rhymed stanzas, but that during the course of composition the author came under the influence of *Tamburlaine* and

introduced more and more blank verse as he proceeded. There is certainly no internal evidence either of re-casting or interpolation. Professor Collins next proceeds to quote a number of parallels between *Selimus* and *Locrine*. Some of these are striking, but the point is not new. It is significant that when Grosart cites the word 'arm-strong' as an epithet of Hercules, Professor Collins declares it to be an 'ordinary Elizabethan' phrase, but nevertheless himself uses it for the purpose of connecting *Locrine* with *Selimus*. The passages are certainly noteworthy:

Selimus: 'The arme-strong son of Jove';

Locrine: 'The arme-strong offspring of the doubled night Stout Hercules';

Menaphon: 'Alcides (the arme-strong darling of the doubled night).'

The Professor then remarks that the blank verse of the two plays is indistinguishable, which is quite true, and proceeds to quote in illustration two *rimed* passages from *Selimus*! The inference, of course, is that *Selimus* and *Locrine* are by the same hand, and this he seems to think disposes of Greene's claim. But no one has ever denied that a strong case can be made out for Greene's authorship of *Locrine*. Moreover, in the end Professor Collins gives away his case by saying that 'What reminds us of Greene may have been interpolated [in *Selimus*] from Greene's mss.' No argument is adduced to show that Greene's authorship is in any way unlikely, and yet rather than entertain that obvious hypothesis we are asked to suppose that passages out of lost or unpublished works of his have been deliberately inserted by some person or persons unknown! Grosart in his treatment of the question undoubtedly laid himself open to attack, but it is far easier to pick holes in his arguments than to disprove his contention. Nor is the question one which can be adequately treated by itself. One would have expected from Greene's editor a general inquiry into the authorship of a whole set of plays—*Selimus*, *Locrine*, *Leir*, *Titus*—and it is hardly a proof of the Professor's zeal that he has shirked some of the most difficult portions of his task. It is true that little value was likely to attach to such an investigation from the pen of a writer who habitually and avowedly disregards the work of other critics, except for an occasional sneer concerning the 'thick darkness, not irradiated, but rendered visible by the spluttering pyrotechny of meteoric theories and bavin conjecture.'

When Professor Collins comes to discuss the claims of *George a Greene*, he is in a very different frame of mind. 'Though the evidence in favour of Greene's authorship of the *Pinner* [as usual, the second title is preferred] is far from conclusive, it is sufficient to warrant us in including it tentatively among his works,' although 'Whether Greene wrote [*Selimus* and *Locrine*] or had a hand in them is in my opinion much too doubtful to justify any editor including either of them in Greene's Works,' and 'precarious conjecture I take to be no part of an editor's duty.' The external evidence in favour of Greene's authorship of the play on the subject of his namesake of Wakefield is, as the Professor admits, very slender. It consists of an inscription on

the title-page of the Duke of Devonshire's copy, first 'brought to light by Mr Payne Collier,' to the effect that Shakespeare said it was written by 'a minister,' and Edward Juby that it was 'made by Ro. Gree[ne].' The authority of this statement might be open to question, even if the authenticity of the entry were not. Professor Collins, however, himself admits the latter to be 'pregnant with suspicion.' Until the original has been examined by some competent person familiar with the Ireland and Collier forgeries, no final verdict can, of course, be pronounced, but critics must in the mean time be excused if they rule such very suspicious testimony out of court. The internal evidence is hardly more convincing. Had the resemblances been adduced by any other critic in favour of any other play, we should doubtless have heard more of 'meteoric theories and bavin conjecture.' There is, in the passages cited, not a tithe, not a hundredth part of the resemblance found in those quoted from *Selimus* and *Locrine*, of which the Professor wrote: 'the truth is that arguments like these are futile, and I have merely parodied Dr Grosart.' He has here parodied that scholar with a vengeance. Greene's authorship is supported by no arguments of the slightest weight, and there are serious objections. The play was performed by a company with which Greene is not known ever to have been connected. The verse of the play is admitted by the editor to be utterly unlike Greene's, and its language to show no traces of any of his tricks of style or rhetoric. The conclusion drawn is that it must be his latest drama. Marry, must it! but can the cat-a-mountain thus change his spots? The free open-air, rollicking humour of the play is utterly unlike Greene, and reminds one rather of such a piece as Munday's *John a Kent*, with which it has several points of resemblance. To compare Bettris with Margaret is absurd. Grimes' daughter talks with direct and delightful simplicity; the maid of Fressingfield could look back on a youth misspent over Greene's amorous romances. 'It is possible,' writes the Professor in conclusion, 'that if we possessed the drama in its original form we should have been able to find further and much more satisfactory internal evidence in favour of the play being from Greene's pen.' It may suffice to quote Professor Collins' own remark that hypothesis is not argument. All readers will be glad that *George a Greene* has been included in the present collection; but to argue that there is more evidence, external or internal, for Greene's authorship of this play than of *Selimus* is preposterous. There is infinitely less.

A few points in the special Introductions to the plays call for attention. The first is *Alphonsus*. Having in the general Introduction argued in favour of the date 1588, the editor here proposes the date 1591 on the ground of certain supposed parallels with Spenser's *Complaints* published that year. Even, however, supposing the parallels to have the least force, which it is difficult to grant, nothing follows, since, as Professor Collins himself admits, the poems in question undoubtedly circulated in MS. for several years before they issued from the press. Next comes the *Looking Glass*. Incidentally, on p. 140, the closing of

the theatres in July 1592 is said to have been on account of the plague. This is not so; they were closed owing to riots. The plague did not become serious till the beginning of September. *Orlando* is assigned the third place. The transcript of the title-page, among other errors, states that the play was 'Printed for [*sic*] Iohn Danter for Cuthbert Burbie.' On p. 218 *Orlando* is said to have torn Orgalio in pieces. It was the clown on whom he performed. In the second volume the first play is *Friar Bacon*. The editor has omitted to state the whereabouts of any of the quartos or to mention what copy he has followed. The British Museum copy of Q 1 is imperfect and the only other copy recorded by bibliographers is in Bridgewater House. No acknowledgement for access to this is made. Next comes *James IV*. A comparison of the transcript of the title-page with the facsimile is instructive:

[*Reprint.*] The Scottisch Historie of James IV, slaine at Flodden Field. Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie presented by Oboram King of Faeries. As it hath been sundrie times plaide. Written by Robert Greene, Maister of Arts. Omne tulit punctum 1598.

[*Facsimile.*] The Scottisch Historie of Iames the fourth, slaine at Flodden. Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram King of Fayeries: As it hath bene sundrie times publicly plaide. Written by Robert Greene, Maister of Arts. Omne tulit punctum. London Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598.

Lastly there is *George a Greene*. In this instance the transcript of the title differs from the facsimile only in matters of spelling and punctuation, but to make up for this comparative accuracy the editor immediately afterwards states that the play is 'described on the title-page as an interlude,' which is obviously not the case. On p. 160 it is said that Juby 'was an actor in Prince Henry's Company in 1604, and had joined [S.] Rowley in writing a play called *Sampson* in 1602.' He is known to have been a member of the same company, then the Admiral's, at least ten years before the date mentioned, but is not known to have written any play; he and Rowley simply authorised payment for the piece in question on behalf of the sharers.

A very few words must suffice concerning the notes. While in some cases a good deal of useful information has been collected, as in regard to 'clapperdudgeon' (*George a Greene*, 909) of which hardly adequate illustration is supplied by *N.E.D.*, much space is occupied by quotations for quite common words and phrases, such as 'to like of' (*Orlando*, 138), 'hunts-up' (386), 'cutter' (*Bacon*, 516), 'black-jack' (*James IV*, 845) or by extracts which may be entertaining in themselves but which do not serve to throw any light on the text (*e.g.* *Bacon*, 237). There would be no reason to complain of this were it not that many difficulties are passed over in silence. To mention one instance out of scores—*Looking Glass*, 96-7: 'Remilias loue is farre more either prisde Then Ieroboams or the worlds subdue.' The editor does not adopt either Dyce's or Mr Daniel's emendation for 'either,' does not obelise the word, and adds no note. On several occasions also the illustrations cited are not parallel. Two rather glaring instances may be quoted. *Orlando*, 122:

'But come there forth the proudest champion That hath suspition in the Palatine.' 'For this curious use of "suspicion" in the sense of fame or reputation, i.e. that which creates suspicion or envy, cf. Spenser's *Sonnet to Gabriel Harvey*: "And as one careless of suspicion Ne fawnest on the favour of the great".' Now in Spenser the word obviously means 'misconstruction.' In Greene it appears to have the force of 'mistrust' and the 'in' in place of 'of' is presumably a rather unusual Latinism. 'The Palatine' is, of course, the Count Palatine, that is Orlando; can Professor Collins have taken it to mean the Palatinate? *Friar Bacon*, 299: '*guesse*. This form of the plural of guest is not uncommon.' In every instance, however, which is cited, '*guesse*' is a singular. In short the notes offer very much the same occasion for criticism as the Introductions, and it must be further remembered that the remarks made above with regard to both touch upon only a very small number of the more important points which must strike the attention of any careful reader.

It is time to pass to the consideration of the text, and it must be borne in mind that it was here that Professor Collins 'determined to spare no pains' to make his edition a final one¹. It is impossible to pretend that it is even moderately satisfactory. The plays have been printed from transcripts of the original quartos which were on the whole accurate, but in which the distinction between capitals and small letters was not clear, in which the ampersand and other contractions were sometimes retained and sometimes expanded, and which contained a certain number of gross and obvious mistakes. Further, it is clear that no consistent attempt was made to read the proofs with the originals, a precaution which everyone familiar with work of this sort knows to be absolutely indispensable, if accuracy is to be attained. There is, indeed, no evidence whatever that the editor has himself consulted a single one of the original editions. Under these circumstances it would seem that the names of the transcribers had as good a claim to stand on the title-page as that of Professor Collins. It is high time that it should be understood that so long as we entrust our old authors to arm-chair editors who are content with second-hand knowledge of textual sources, so long will English scholarship in England afford undesirable amusement to the learned world.

The extent of the inaccuracies in matters of detail may be illustrated from the first 250 lines of *Orlando*. In these there are nine cases of a small letter which should be a capital, twenty of a capital which should be small, three of 'and' for '&,' and also the following errors: 'seauonfold' for 'seauenfold,' 'Sauours' for 'fauours' (though Dyce is quoted as reading 'favours,' and Grosart also has the correct word), 'Supersedeas' for 'Super sed eas,' and 'myselfe' for 'my selfe.' The collations as a whole are at least as unsatisfactory. Not only are the readings quoted repeatedly incorrect, instances of which will be given in a moment, but it is frequently impossible to discover exactly for what

¹ The Clarendon Press are to be heartily congratulated on their conversion to a sound practice with regard to upper and lower case u and v.

words in the text they are a substitute (e.g., *James IV*, 55 and 1703). Particularly is this the case where the speaker's names have been, sometimes unnecessarily, altered, for it is seldom stated whether the wrong name appears in the original, or whether the speech is simply run on (e.g., *James IV*, 298, *Alphonsus*, 349, where, moreover, the insertion of *Alphon.* has not been marked by the usual brackets, and *George a Greene*, 1214, where it is distinctly stated that a new name appears, which is not true). So again alterations in the text are quite inconsistently treated. Insertions are usually marked by the use of conical brackets, but in a number of instances these have been omitted (e.g., *Orlando*, 675, which should read 'Proud, <and> disdainfull,' and *Alphonsus*, 1425, which should read 'threat<e>nings'; cf. ll. 1114 and 1926); square brackets are apparently used to indicate delenda in *James IV*, 612 and 999 s.d., though the fact is nowhere stated, but elsewhere (e.g., *James IV*, 2128 s.d., and *George a Greene*, 115 and 568) they seem to be mere misprints for conical brackets; while round brackets have been introduced in *Alphonsus*, 175 s.d., for no reason at all. 'Exit' is frequently allowed to stand where several persons leave the stage, but 'Manet' is altered to 'Mane<n>t.' The treatment of italics is most inconsistent. In *Alphonsus* the quarto has been usually followed in italicising proper names; in *Orlando* it has been followed in not italicising them; in *Friar Bacon*, however, they have been italicised though the quarto prints them in roman. In almost every case the head-title is entirely different from that of the quarto.

The plays may now be considered in order. To begin with, why is there no photographic reproduction of the title to *Alphonsus*? The type-facsimile given is incorrect from beginning to end. The editor has failed to remark that the Dyce copy is imperfect, having A 4 in facsimile; this may account for the variant reading in l. 64. With regard to l. 335 s.d., the statement that Q prints the direction as part of the preceding speech is untrue. Line 1022 (note): Dyce and Walker insert 'so,' 'but I let the text stand.' He does not; he prints 'Of this <so> strange.' Line 1109 (note): "'Stones" is a disyllable.' Then why insert 'do' to eke out the metre?

Orlando. The emperor's name has been printed 'Marsilius' throughout in accordance with Ariosto, though Q appears to be consistent in reading 'Marsillus,' and the metrical evidence is inconclusive. The change seems hardly warranted, though it may readily be admitted that it is an editor's business to make up his mind what a name is intended to be, and not to print 'Serlby' and 'Serlsby' indifferently as Professor Collins does in *Friar Bacon*. Line 1070 is rendered ungrammatical by the misprint 'mee' for the correct 'wee' of Q. In l. 1134 'Lounes' is nonsense; Q has 'Sounes,' i.e. Zounds. Line 1174, 'Iuno, mee thou gat, sent downe from heauen by Ioue,' is unintelligible, though the editor appears to be quite satisfied with it, since he has no note on the passage. Q makes it all clear by reading 'Iuno, mee thought'! On l. 1311 the statement that the Dyce copy reads 'love' for 'lust' is untrue. Line 1451: 'rich Q 2: om. Q 1.' Again untrue.

The Museum copy is slightly defective at this point and the word has been torn away, not omitted; it is present in the Dyce copy.

Friar Bacon. Line 497: 'Whilst then we fit to *Oxford* with our troupes'; so Q 1; 'fit' is obelised. Obviously a misprint for 'flit,' i.e. remove. Line 777: '*Bungay* ms. corr. in Q 3.' Presumably in some particular copy of Q 3; the editor has not stated what copies he is using. It so happens that the correction has been made in the Museum copy of Q 1. In l. 1347 is found the extraordinary reading 'thEgyptian' (notes have 'th' Ægyptian'!) for 'the Gyptian' of Q 1. Is Professor Collins really unaware that 'Gyptian' was used in Elizabethan English for 'Egyptian'? Line 1580: 'Lacuna of two or three words after *moment* in Q.1.' There is no such thing. Again: '*ion and your* add. Q 1 in marg.'; it should be 'wn and your'; the beginning has been cut away in binding. Line 1993: '*welt* lost in Q 1 B.M.': this is untrue.

James IV. It is quite unnecessary to treat the first stage direction as corrupt. The editor prints: '*Enter Aster Oberon, King of Fayries; an<d> Antique<s>, who dance.*' Apparently we are to suppose that Aster is Oberon's christian name! Q reads: '*Enter After Oberō King of Fayries, an Antique who dance*'; (at least Professor Collins says that Q reads 'After'; I am not sure, but it is often difficult to distinguish 'f' and long 's'). Except that 'After' should be '*after*,' this is quite correct. 'Antique' is a technical term for the burlesque dance of an anti-masque, and there being several performers takes a plural verb. Line 5: 'recon.' The collation has '*reson* Q,' but according to the notes this error is only found in the Dyce copy. That copy, however, reads 'recon.' From l. 53 to l. 110, it will be noticed that the readings of the Museum and Dyce copies vary considerably, and that the editor follows now one and now the other. It happens, however, that the Museum copy is imperfect at this point, leaf A 4, in which the variations occur, having been printed to supply the deficiency somewhere about 1820. This has been mistaken for genuine. Similarly in the case of the 1594 quarto of *Orlando*, the Dyce copy has A 3 and the whole of F in modern reprint, which Professor Collins actually asserts to belong to the edition of 1599 (p. 243)! It may be questioned whether our knowledge of the Elizabethan drama is likely to be furthered by entrusting the editing of important texts to gentlemen, whatever may be their literary reputation, who either do not think it necessary to examine the original editions of the works concerned, or if they do are incapable of distinguishing between the typography of the sixteenth and that of the nineteenth century. In the present instance the result is thirty-six errors in fifty-seven lines. To continue:—l. 367: '*She shoud consent.*' Why italic? Q reads 'should'; it is not an apostrophe but a broken 'l.' Line 653: '<Ober.> But marke mee more.' Q is quite right in giving the words to Bohan. It is he who is presenting the jigs. Line 812 (note): 'There is no necessity to insert "*or*."' Then why do so? Line 1717: 'The God of heauen reward thee,

courteous knight?' Why a query? Q has a full stop. Line 1819: 'fair<i>e'; Q has 'fairie.'

George a Greene, l. 818: 'My Lord of Kend, you are welcome to the court.' 'Kend' is an impossible form; Q has 'Kend.' as a contraction for Kendal; read 'you're welcome.' Line 838: the dash at the end of this line is needless; understand 'that' after 'But' in the next line. Line 881: again the insertion of a dash reduces the passage to nonsense. Line 1027: 'No, nor the stoutest groome.' This is ungrammatical; Q has 'not.' Line 1076: 'feee.' Can a text be said to be edited in which such misprints as this are retained?

Poems from the Novels. It would have been far more convenient had these been divided into clearly marked groups according to the works in which they occur. As it is, the whereabouts of the poems is only mentioned in the notes, and there not always correctly. Thus LIII—LXXI are said (p. 390) to be from *Never too Late*, though LXXI really belongs to the *Farewell to Folly* (as correctly stated on p. 394).

Finally a few words must be said concerning the Dulwich MS. of the part of Orlando. Professor Collins more than once insists on the value of this document in conjunction with the printed text, but he has nowhere discussed the relation of the two. Three possibilities exist: (1) that Q is a mutilated and surreptitious version; (2) that Q represents an abridged playhouse version made for some special object, as maintained by Mr Fleay, and (3) that the MS. represents a revised and expanded version made when the play was revived by Strange's men in 1592. One would certainly have expected some discussion of this interesting problem. Professor Collins, however, contents himself with giving a reprint of the MS., and, moreover, a reprint which is so inaccurate as to be utterly useless. Indeed, it follows the original less closely than that printed by Collier in 1841, of the existence of which the editor was apparently ignorant, since he repeatedly speaks of Dyce's transcript, whereas Dyce in point of fact merely took his readings from Collier. In his preface the editor implies that he had a transcript of the MS. made. It is much to be regretted that this transcript was not used to print from, for it is quite clear that the text in the Appendix has been set up from a copy of his own edition, which has been very imperfectly corrected to agree with the MS. This will be obvious from a comparison of the following passages:

Lines 1083—4.

Collins, p. 254, Quarto:

And if he doo denie to send me downe
The skirt which Deianyra sent to Hercules.

(Where it may be remarked that 'skirt' is the editor's misprint for 'shirt' of Q.)

Lines 1178—80.

Collins, p. 257, Quarto:

With that, mounted on her parti-
coloured coach,
Being drawn with peacocks proudly
through the aire,
She flew with Iris to the sphere of
Ioue.

Lines 1083—4.

Collins, p. 271, MS. :

And if he doo denie to send me downe
The shirt which Deianyra sent to Her-
cules.

Dulwich MS. :

yf he denye to send me downe the shirt
that Deianyra sent to Hercules

The persistent inaccuracy of the reprint in matters of detail is well seen in such a passage as the following :

Collins, p. 268, ll. 685—713 (5).

Feminile ingegno di tutti male sede
Cometi vuogi et muti facilmente
Contrario oggetto propri de la fede
O infelice O miser
Inportune superne ett . . . dispettose
Priue d amor di fede et di consigli
Temerarie crudeli inique ingrante
Par pestilenza eterna al mundo natae.

medor is, medor a knave
Vilayne, Argalio, whers medor? what lyes
he here?

And brauēs me to my face? by heaueuen,
Ile tear

Him pecemeale in dispiight of these :
..... on his neck.
Villayns, prouide me straight a lions
skynne.

For I, thou seest, I am mighty Her-
cules.

See whers my massy clubb vpon my
neck.

I must to hell to fight with Cerberus,
And find out Medor ther, you vilaynes,
or Ile dye.

..... shall I doe?

Ah, ah, ah, Sirha, Argalio!

Ile ge e the a spear framd out of . . .

..... haue be pre

..... of her glorious wayne

As a matter of fact the last line belongs to a different place altogether.

The nature of the pains which Professor Collins has not spared in order to make his edition accurate and trustworthy must now be

Lines 1178—80.

Collins, p. 273, MS. :

With that, mounted vpon her party-
colored Coach,
Being drawn with peacockes proudly
through the aire,
She slipt with Iris to the spehar of
Ioue.

Dulwich MS. :

wth that moūted, vpō hir pty coulered
coach
she slipt wth Iris to the spehar of Ioue.

Dulwich MS.

O feminine ingegno di tutti mali sede
come ti vuolgi et muti facilmente
Contrario oggetto proprio de la fede
O infelice, O miser [] credi
inportune, superbe ett dispettose
priue d amor di fede et di Consiglio
temerarie, crudeli, inique, ingrante.
per pestilenza eterna al mundo nate.

medor is medor a knave
Vilayne Argalio whers medor, what lyes
he here

and braues me to my face, by heauē
Ile tear

him pecemeale in despight of these.
..... on his neck

Villayns provide me straight a lions
skynne

for I thou seest / I am mighty Her-
cules

see whers my massy clubb vpon my
neck

I must to hell to fight wth Cerberus
and find out Medor ther, yea vilaynes
or Ile dye

..... shall I doe

ah, ah, ah. Sirha Argalio

Ile geue the a spear framd out of [] me
[] s

Ile haue the be my Laūcpres[a]d[e]
[] the []

[lacuna of some lines]
[] hmā of the gloriouse wayne

apparent. If the above remarks have been chiefly devoted to pointing out errors and defects, the blame does not rest with the reviewer. Countervailing merits have been sought, and sought in vain. The common sense displayed in the general introduction is rendered nugatory by the results there attained being contradicted in other parts of the work. The labour expended on the notes is largely misapplied owing to a failure to distinguish between what is relevant and what is not. Professor Collins' reprint of Greene's plays will serve until a better is produced, but to put forward careless and superficial work of this kind as a final edition is a gross insult to English scholarship.

W. W. GREG.

Underwoods. By BEN JONSON. Printed at the University Press, Cambridge. 1905. 8vo. 165 pp.

This beautiful reprint of the *Underwoods* amply realises the primary aim of the publishers, to produce an artistic book; the type is bold and closely set together, and stands out effectively on a well-balanced page. Jonson's half-forgotten lyrics, with their slender vein of inspiration, reappear in a form as far removed as possible from the clumsy printing of the original text. But readers of this *Review*, while fully appreciating the charm of the typography, will be keenly interested in the reprint from a further standpoint. The text follows the 1640 Folio, in the second volume of which the poems first appeared as a pendant to *The Forest* of the earlier volume. They had a separate title-page, and this is reproduced; but, as no clear intimation of the source is given, it would naturally be inferred that the poems were a separate issue. The paging of the Folio was continuous for the *Masques* from 1616 onwards, the *Underwoods*, the later *Entertainments*, and the fragment of *Mortimer*; by a freak of the printer the running head-line of 'The Vnder-wood' was extended to the *Entertainments* which immediately followed, with the result that they are reprinted in the new edition. Yet Jonson's prefatory note is given in which he expressly limits the title *Underwoods* to 'these lesser poems.' The old text has been reproduced with two slight touches of revision: capital J and U are printed consistently, and lower-case letters at the beginning of a line have been corrected. Misprints, however, and faulty punctuation have been retained—such a portent as 'Cacoches,' such lack-Latin as 'in mortem Salium ter quatient humum,' such sense and grammar as

All good Poëtrie hence was flowne,
And are banish'd.

In the old Folio these points cause no difficulty; the reader is on the alert and corrects instinctively. But, reset in clear and comely type, they are disturbing and incongruous; they do more than catch the eye, they offend it, and one longs for the bare minimum of correction needed to eliminate mere inartistic blemishes. The reprint appears to add some errors of its own. 'Donner's' (p. 29) should be 'Donnor's';

'knowes to doe *In* true respects' (p. 31) should be 'It'; 'But though Love thrive' (p. 62) should be 'For'; in 'And must be bred, so *as* to conceale his birth' (p. 63) 'as' should be deleted; and in 'He vexed *rime*, and busied the whole State' (p. 100) the correct reading is 'time.' The original text, as in so many books of the time, underwent correction while the sheets were passing through the press; for instance, the 'roicts' of p. 67 was corrected in most copies. But for the variants here cited I believe that the Folio was not responsible, and a list of minute differences might be added. Worse still, there are a group of errors due to such an elementary mistake as misreading 'f' for 'f': thus, p. 26, 'is loath to leave, *Left* Ayre, or Print' (where 'lest' = least); p. 72, 'Or *left* that vapour might the Citie choake'; p. 95, 'grow The *fume* that thou art promis'd'; p. 133, 'the *feat* That she is in' (poor Lady Digby is in heaven; at least Ben thinks so); p. 147, 'thy *foster* bed' (a double blunder, with 'mollis thorus' to correct it on the opposite page); and p. 151, 'Wives, and *fell's*' (where 'sell's' = selves). The text then is far from flawless; in an edition which is sure to revive interest in the *Underwoods* it is a pity to place needless obstacles in the way of the reader.

PERCY SIMPSON.

The Gospels of St John, St Matthew and St Mark in West Saxon. Edited from the MSS. with Introduction and Notes by JAMES W. BRIGHT (*Belles Lettres Series*: I. Early English Literature). 3 Vols. Boston and London: D. C. Heath, 1904, 1905. 16mo. xl+280, 147, and 84 pp.

These three dainty volumes form part of a series of reprints of the English classics, of the type with which we have of late become so familiar: they are neatly bound little pocket editions, clearly and accurately printed.

The *Belles Lettres Series* is, however, honourably distinguished from its predecessors by containing a special section devoted to reprints of Old English classics prior to the year 1100; and the three gospels form part of a set, which is already reaching considerable dimensions, of editions of the shorter documents in Anglo-Saxon prose and verse. The three West Saxon gospels are particularly welcome, since good editions have for some time been difficult to procure. In the early days of English philology Anglo-Saxon was chiefly valued as a weapon of the theologian, bent on proving his case by an appeal to the usage of the English church in the 10th or 11th century. Accordingly, as early as 1571, these gospels were issued by the Protestant printer, John Daye: 'published for a testimony' of the use of the scriptures by the Saxon Church in the vulgar tongue. But in later times these versions have suffered somewhat from neglect: they have been overshadowed by subsequent more exciting discoveries in the field of Old English. Though several times printed in collections of Bible translations, such as those of Junius in 1665, Bosworth in 1865, and particularly in the

great edition of Professor Skeat published between 1871 and 1887, these West Saxon versions have only once, since the days of Elizabeth, been printed, in extenso, by themselves.

The present edition is in every respect a satisfactory one: the text is formed by collating once more with the MSS. the very correct version published by Professor Skeat twenty years ago: and its accuracy leaves nothing to be desired.

The volumes will be so useful for placing in the hands of elementary students, that it is to be regretted that only the gospel of St John is furnished with notes and with a glossary. It is a pity that this glossary was not enlarged so as to include the words found only in the other gospels. Perhaps, however, when the whole series is completed by the publication of St Luke, the editors will bring out a special volume of notes and glossary to the four gospels. Such an appendix to the series would greatly increase its value.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

Nouveaux Essais de Philologie Française. Par ANTOINE THOMAS. Paris: Bouillon, 1905. 8vo. xii + 416 pp.

C'est la suite du volume intitulé *Essais de Philologie Française* paru chez Bouillon en 1898. Avec ces deux ouvrages il est nécessaire de consulter également du même auteur les *Mélanges d'Etymologie Française* (Fascicule xiv de la *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris*, 1902). Après avoir dirigé ses recherches dans tous les domaines de la philologie romane, après avoir donné une grande partie de son temps aux études concernant l'histoire du moyen âge, l'auteur s'est de plus en plus spécialisé dans les problèmes de lexicologie et d'étymologie. Il nous présente ses idées sur la 'science étymologique' dans le premier article du volume *Nouveaux Essais* qui est la reproduction avec quelques retouches d'un travail paru le 1^{er} décembre 1902 dans la *Revue des deux Mondes* et intitulé *La Science étymologique et la langue française*. Le titre seul de l'étude en indique l'esprit: M. Thomas considère que la science de l'étymologie ne pourra 'se constituer qu'en étudiant comparativement et contradictoirement la succession historique des faits, des sons, des idées' (p. 11). C'est là son principe et ce principe s'oppose à celui de l'école sémantique représentée surtout par Hugo Schuchardt qui a développé ses idées dans plusieurs articles notamment dans *Über die Lautgesetze, Romanische Etymologien*, et en divers endroits de la *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. Le sémantiste allemand pense qu'il faut prendre en considération non seulement le développement des sons mais aussi et surtout le développement des sens, l'influence des formes des mots connexes pour établir l'origine de l'un d'eux. En somme il subordonne les transformations physiologiques aux influences psychologiques tandis que M. Thomas prend comme unique base scientifique une série de lois phonétiques mathématiquement fixées. On comprend dès lors que la méthode du philologue français soit beaucoup plus rigoureuse et conduise à un

maximum de vraisemblance bien plus élevé que celui atteint en suivant la méthode de M. Schuchardt. Cependant M. Thomas reconnaît aussi que la sémantique a son utilité : elle sert de contre-épreuve aux résultats fournis par l'enquête historique et elle peut parfois y suppléer. 'Et, dit-il malicieusement, il y a en particulier un vaste domaine où le langage semble se jouer des lois de la phonétique. C'est celui de l'analogie, qu'on peut se représenter comme une sorte de Cour des Miracles. C'est là qu'on voit des mots qui ont perdu leur tête ou leur queue s'emparer sans vergogne de celle du voisin pour faire figure dans le monde et se livrer à quantité d'autres tours de passe-passe dont le spectacle est fait pour déconcerter notre raison. La sémantique à l'œil sur eux et, *mieux que la phonétique*, elle peut nous livrer le secret de leurs faits et gestes et les déferer aux tribunaux dont ils ressortissent.' D'autre part M. Schuchardt se sert de la phonétique comme point de départ dans ses recherches qui tournent au psychisme une fois seulement qu'il se heurte à des difficultés où la phonétique lui semble incapable de fournir aucun secours. Les deux philologues ne sont donc point séparés l'un de l'autre autant qu'il semble au premier abord, et si leurs principes diffèrent, en pratique ils se donnent parfois la main.

M. Thomas se défie un peu des considérations générales. Il préfère les exemples concrets et les fouilles nettement délimitées et c'est surtout dans les articles venant après celui que nous venons de signaler avec quelque détail qu'on trouvera les heureuses applications de sa méthode scientifique. Parmi les articles les plus intéressants du livre qui dans la seconde partie, pp. 149-345, ne contient que des études étymologiques, nous citerons les suivants *armorijo*; *aveneril* (où l'auteur reconnaît une composition en *-arilis* (*arius* + *ilis*) lui permettant de retrouver l'origine de mots comme *chaumeril*, *femeril*, *fromenteril*, *meeril*, *orgeril*¹); *caillou*; *cerneau*; *cibre*; *consier*, *desier*; *deimai*, où il retrouve le mot *esmoi* (*de* + *esmoi*); *fauterne*; *histar*, que M. Thomas fait remonter sans doute possible à *genesta* + *aris*, 'comme cela, dit-il, saute aux yeux de tout bon philologue'; *ivière*, qui vient non de *nivaria*, comme l'auteur l'avait d'abord cru et soutenu dans les *Mémoires de la Société Ant. de l'Ouest*, 1868, mais de *hibernum*, comme il l'admet maintenant, p. 285; *nuître*, qu'il dérive de **noctula* ('chouette'); *ostade* dans le sens d'étoffe de laine, qui, comme il le montre irréfutablement, n'est autre que le nom de Worstead (Norfolk) dont les étoffes pénétrèrent en France au XIV^e siècle; *trouver*, où l'auteur réfute avec beaucoup d'esprit l'étymologie généralement donnée *turbare*, et à la place de laquelle il soutient le beaucoup plus probable **tropare*. À propos du mot *éculorger* les exemples fournis par le glossaire hébreu-français du XIII^e siècle, publié par MM. Lambert Mayer et Louis Brandin, confirment l'idée émise par M. Thomas, et permettent de rejeter complètement la part du...derrière que M. Dottin a voulu y fourrer sans avoir, nous le craignons, suffisamment réfléchi. Il nous donne en effet les formes *éklorjért* (175, 75),

¹ Les mots *blaril*, *lineril*, *seilleril*, sont signalés par M. Mario Roques dans son compte-rendu, *Journal des Savants* (août 1905).

éklorjont (194, 9), *éklurjement* (174, 20), *klorjemont* (175, 71), *klorjemonž* (89, 44), *klorjonž* (153, 83), qui indiquent sans doute possible le radical **collubricare*.

Signalons encore la solution définitive d'une question fort délicate la transformation de *-arius* en *-ier*, et l'intéressant article sur le suffixe *-aricius*, où il reprend et corrige les idées exposées par MM. Horning, Tobler et Meyer-Lübke et où il donne une liste d'environ 250 mots français et provençaux, masculins et féminins, formés à l'aide de ce suffixe, prouvant ainsi que sa vitalité a été beaucoup plus grande qu'on ne l'avait reconnu jusqu'ici.

L. BRANDIN.

Dante the Wayfarer. By CHRISTOPHER HARE. London and New York: Harper. 1905. 8vo. xviii + 355 pp.

The idea of this book is excellent—a record of Dante's wanderings, illustrated by pertinent passages from his own writings, and embellished with photographs (many of them original) of the more important spots which he visited. And the general scheme of its arrangement is perhaps as satisfactory as the somewhat vague chronology of the Poet's movements will permit. Some of the chapters which at first sight seem intrusions embody a catena of Dante's most beautiful thoughts on different aspects of Nature, and find their justification therein: such, *e.g.*, are the digression in Chapter I on 'Mothers and Children,' the Chapter on 'The Birds of Dante,' and that on 'The Highway of the Sea.' There were, in fact, certain moods of Dante's versatile genius, and certain departments of his insight, which the writer could not bear to leave unrepresented. But while we applaud his judgment we cannot but wish that he had shewn more skill and deftness in effectuating it. The *Divina Commedia* is a mine of treasures, and of very varied treasures. A book like this might have given us a classified museum of the same, ordered on a definite plan. But it remains neither mine nor museum—something between the two.

And while in general this externally attractive volume gives one the impression of a mass of good things rather loosely put together—more than once, *e.g.*, the author repeats apparently unconsciously, and almost word for word, a sentence or a paragraph already given in an earlier chapter—a more detailed view confirms the impression. The same faults of style which disfigured the earlier and in some ways equally fascinating book on *The most illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance*, are here repeated; and there is also a goodly harvest of small inaccuracies (both material and verbal) and of misprints. Why do we read on p. 33 'Peregrino, quasi mendicando,' and on p. 137 'Pelligrino' (*sic*) in the same quotation from *Conv.* i. 3? On what authority is the pavement in the Duomo of Siena attributed to Duccio? and who is responsible for the twin solecisms of 'San Stefano' and 'Santo Cassianus'? Why, again, should the beautiful if not entirely original chapter on 'Dante as Alpine Climber' be disfigured by the fantastic

interpretation of the *Corda* of *Inf.* xvi? Again, if the writer desired to give a contemporary illustration of mountaineering, would not Salimbene's thrilling account of the feat of Peter of Aragon have been more in point than a reference to 1555?

But we will content ourselves with the foregoing criticisms, though indeed there is matter for many more, and conclude with a word of appreciation.

If 'lo bello stile' is lacking to our writer, there is no want of 'lungo studio' of a sort, and of very sincere 'amore.' To beginners in the study of Dante, this book may be of considerable use, in spite of its blemishes, and not least for its collection and quasi-classification of some of the very finest passages in the *Divina Commedia*.

LONSDALE RAGG.

Della Trilogia di Dante. Da ALESSANDRO CHIAPPELLI. Florence: Barbèra, 1905. 8vo. vii + 286 pp.

Dantologia: Vita ed opere di Dante Alighieri. Per G. A. SCARTAZZINI. 3a Edizione con ritocchi e giunte di N. SCARANO. Milan: Hoepli, 1906. 16mo. xvi + 424 pp.

La Divina Commedia. Con postilli e cenni introduttivi del Prof. RAFFAELLO FORNACIARI. Edizione minuscola. Milan: Hoepli, 1905. 32mo. xxii + 577 pp.

Teologia Dantesca studiata nel Paradiso. Da GIUSEPPE TAROZZI (*Biblioteca degli Studenti*, 132, 133). Leghorn: Giusti, 1905. 16mo. x + 112 pp.

Avviamento allo Studio della Divina Commedia. Da FRANCESCO FLAMINI (same Series, 134, 135). Leghorn: Giusti, 1905. 16mo. x + 122 pp.

Tavole Riassuntive della Divina Commedia. Da L. M. CAPELLI (same Series, 136). Leghorn: Giusti, 1905. 16mo. 90 pp.

The title of Prof. Chiappelli's book is at once enlightening and disappointing. It is enlightening because it restores to its more scientific use the word 'Trilogy,' rather unfortunately misapplied by Witte to the triad of the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convivio* and the *Commedia*. On the other hand it leads one rather to expect a somewhat scientific account of the structure and mutual relations of the three *Cantiche*; instead of which we have the usual reproduction of a more or less disconnected group of lectures delivered at various times in Rome, Florence and Naples. And there is no proportionate treatment of the three elements. The bulk of the book deals with subjects from the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* having assigned to them one lecture each.

But the disappointment is after all short-lived. The prolific writer, whose papers on classical, artistic and political themes contributed to

the *Nuova Antologia* and other Reviews will be familiar to many English and American readers, brings a store of culture and erudition to his task, and ransacks English and German as well as Greek and Latin classics for his illustrations. His real insight into the classical spirit makes the lecture on *L'Odissea dantesca* a peculiarly illuminating commentary on the remarkable passage of *Inf.* xxvi which is in some respects perhaps the most fascinating episode in the whole *Cantica*. And in this as in the other chapters, the *incidental* light thrown on the structure and meaning of the *Commedia* goes far to make up for one's *prima facie* disappointment. The printing of the volume is worthy of the traditions of the publisher, who has embellished it with two excellent illustrations.

Scartazzini's *Dantologia* comprises nos. 42 and 43 of Hoepli's excellent 'scientific series.' The first part contains three comprehensive chapters on the life of Dante, prefaced by a very complete *résumé* of the literature, ancient and modern, bearing on his life. The second part similarly opens with a chapter of 'cenni bibliografici,' followed by three which deal respectively with (1) the Life as exhibited in the works, (2) the minor works, (3) the *Commedia*.

The value of the book is enhanced, though its 'readableness' is naturally impaired, by the constant introduction of references: and the astonishing amount and variety of matter compressed into so small a space is so well arranged that it escapes being unmanageable and bewildering. The editor of this third edition is to be congratulated on a creditable performance of a difficult task. He has conscientiously refrained from substituting his own cherished convictions on points not proven. Where Scartazzini's view is specially open to criticism he has appended a note of his own; only where the original compiler has been proved 'manifestly wrong' has he ventured to alter the argument. The characteristic chapter on 'La vita nelle opere' has been left practically untouched. His additions are, quite reasonably, most prominent and most important in the department of bibliography.

The 'edizione minuscola' of the *Divina Commedia* published by Hoepli is a charming little pocket edition, beautifully printed on India paper, and admirably adapted for those who frequent the public afternoon lectures so often given in the larger Italian cities. The notes are brief and to the point. The learned editor, while availing himself of the best work of his predecessors, has kept simplicity ever in view and taken care not to 'darken counsel with knowledge,' or to overload the text with wayward or superfluous comments.

In his excellent *Biblioteca degli studenti*, which deserves to be better known in England, Raffaello Giusti of Livorno has already published this year three useful manuals on Dante, the last on our list. The first two, being double volumes, are issued at one lira each, the third at 50 c., and all three are well worth and more than worth the price. Prof. Tarozzi's *Teologia Dantesca* takes the form of an elaborate analytical commentary on three comprehensive passages in the *Paradiso*, viz. *Par.* i. 103—141, in which he finds a summary of Dante's teaching

on 'God and the Universe'; *Par.* ii. 112—141, which forms a text for the discussion of the 'organi del mondo' and the Motive Intelligences; and *Par.* xiii. 52—84, giving the fundamental doctrine of Creation. Each passage is printed *in extenso* at the beginning of its own chapter and then taken clause by clause at the head of the following pages, while illustrative *terzine* from other parts of the *Paradiso*, and occasionally from the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*, are adduced in the course of the commentary. The method strikes us as scientific and illuminating.

Prof. Flamini's *Avviamento*, appropriately dedicated to Isidoro del Lungo, is an attempt to treat, not only scientifically but originally, what would otherwise be a somewhat hackneyed theme. He deals with the genesis of the *Divina Commedia*, its precursors and its sources; with its literal, allegorical and anagogic signification; with its fame and fortune as a book; and appends an ample but well selected bibliography, in which we are glad to find Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary* specially marked as 'opera importantissima.' The central section, on the signification, is the most original and probably the most valuable. It is based on a careful study of Aquinas' commentary on the *Ethics*.

Dr Capelli's *Tables* will be less interesting to the general reader, especially if he have already in his hand the rather more elaborate manual of Prof. Polacco published five years ago by Hoepli. But for its original purpose the little volume is probably elaborate enough, and it has the merit of being based on very recent research.

LONSDALE RAGG.

Cervantes in England. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. London: Published for the British Academy by H. Frowde. [1905.] 8vo. 19 pp.

Nothing could be better than the address delivered by Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly before the British Academy on the occasion of the Tercentenary of Don Quixote. It is admirable in matter and dignified in manner. The main theme of the discourse is deftly intertwined with the leading points of the great writer's life and aims. Without any show of pedantry the chronology is so well observed that the First Part of the novel and its contemporary influence in England are dealt with before we hear of the Second Part; between the two sections comes a short but brilliant interlude on Avellaneda. Full justice is done to the *Novelas Ejemplares*. Few students of English literature can have realised the part played by these tales in the history of the drama. Of course Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly makes use, with due acknowledgment, of the labours of other scholars, like E. Köppel; but he rarely does so without illuminating the subject by some fresh touch or point of view. The bibliography attached to his *Life of Cervantes* shows that our author is acquainted with the *Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda* (1619), which was rendered into English from the French version of

de Rosset (1618)¹. It might have been as well to mention this book, as it seems to show that Cervantes was quite in vogue in England at this early date, otherwise there would scarcely have been any demand for a work which is not one of its author's successes. It would perhaps have been better to call the paper 'Cervantes in English Literature.' From the musical standpoint, it is true, there was nothing important to chronicle, save, perhaps, Purcell's setting of some passages from D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, which has little, if any, connection with Cervantes. But Cervantes in English Art is an important and fascinating theme, as was demonstrated by Mr Ashbee. From the curious title-page of Shelton's version down to Mr Strang's fine etchings there is a long series of English works of art that owe their inspiration to the great Spanish romance. But these are all minor points; and it is a thankless task to find fault—however slight—with a brilliant performance, and one that was entirely worthy of a great occasion.

H. OELSNER.

Geschichte der russischen Literatur. Von A. BRÜCKNER. Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1905. 8vo. 508 pp.

Professor Brückner has earned the reputation of being one of our most learned Slavonic philologists, and he has especially added to our knowledge of old Polish literature. His *History of Polish Literature*, for which he was amply equipped both by his minute knowledge of the subject and the enthusiasm he would naturally feel for it as a Pole, appeared both in German and Polish. In dealing with Russian literature, we might have had fears that the *stari, domashni spor* ('the old family quarrel'), as Pushkin called it, would perhaps distort his views. But in reality he has written in a genial and sympathetic manner of the literature of the old ancestral enemy, and we are thankful to him for it. He stands in this respect in remarkable contrast to M. Waliszewski whose book on Russian literature, published a few years ago, was characterised by a good deal of prejudice.

The early period, including the chronicles, the correspondence between Ivan IV and Kurbski, the Domostroi said to be by the priest Sylvester, and the work by the *diak* Kotoshikhin, is discussed in two chapters. The real Russian literature begins with the third chapter, with the extraordinary change in the country brought about by Peter the Great; the chronicles and lives of the saints give place to essays in the style of the *Spectator* and satires in imitation of Boileau. Kantemir, of whose satires Prof. Brückner gives an analysis, is treated with respect as the first Russian author of the new school; as ambassador at the courts of St James and Versailles, he had plenty of leisure to assimilate western literary forms. Russia now followed the universal imitation of

¹ It is curious that this book was again translated into English in 1854 by L[ouisa] D[orothea] S[tanley]. It would be interesting to know whether any fresh information has, since that date, been gathered concerning the fine portrait of Cervantes, a reproduction of which forms the frontispiece to this volume. Mr Ashbee does not mention it.

French literature; Kheraskov, with his tedious epics, reminding us of the *Henriade*. But the *Rossiada* and *Vladimir* found many readers, for the Russians, even the humbler classes, seemed to crave some literary pabulum, and perhaps Kheraskov will be best remembered in future times by the interesting fact that these turgid productions were read to the youthful Turgueniev by one of his mother's serfs, and inspired him with a fondness for Russian literature. The chapter on the age of Catherine does not spare the corruptions of her court, and tells us of the bold attempts of Radistchev and Novikov to ameliorate the condition of the serfs and aid in the spread of education. Professor Brückner also speaks favourably of Derzhavin, the chief court laureate who had a new poem for each of Catherine's victories, but who had also the courage to satirize the favourite Potemkin. The pedants and reactionaries, especially Shishkov, are dealt with severely by Professor Brückner, while the importance of Batiushkov, whose genius was quenched at an early age, is justly recognised. Zhukovski, who followed the latter, has of late been somewhat depreciated in Russia. His work is chiefly translation, but he was more than a translator. Many of his versions are surprisingly good, and we do not wonder that Professor Brückner praises his rendering of part of the *Odyssey*. Zhukovski did a great deal to pave the way for Pushkin by refining Russian versification. A whole chapter (the seventh) is devoted to the latter, the pride of the Russians. Our author gives an admirable estimate of Pushkin's exquisite work, *Yevgenii Oniegin*, and Pushkin's glorious lyrics are not forgotten. We are glad to have such a eulogy of the Russian poet, whom Professor Brückner finely calls 'der Zauberer,' written in a language accessible to many western readers.

The novel came into Russia gradually. There are 'Volksbücher' pretty early, certainly in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, but the form was more or less created by the many novels translated from French and English during the eighteenth century. The Russians became in this way acquainted with the works of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the novels of Scott blazed across Europe, and in Zagoskin and Lazhechnikov—to say nothing of the worthless Bulgarin—the historical tale was established in Russia. It was, however, Nicholas Gogol (died 1852) who created the genuine Russian romance, and a whole chapter is very properly devoted to him here. The culmination of the Russian novel is reached in what Professor Brückner distinguishes as the 'Modern Time' (1855—1905). To Turgueniev, as to Pushkin, he is generous in his praise, and a separate chapter is devoted to Tolstoi whose religious views are (p. 355) roughly dealt with. Dostoievski is clearly not one of our author's favourites and he is, we think, too lenient to Boborykin, who is a kind of G. P. R. James.

This chapter is followed by an excellent survey of the history of the drama in Russia. Professor Brückner devotes, we are glad to see, considerable attention to the clever *bourgeois* comedies of Ostrovski which are very popular on the Russian stage. The latter part of the

work is occupied with the latest developments of novel writing, in which the scenes are taken almost entirely from the lives of the proletariat, as in the works of Gorki, Chekov (recently deceased), Potapenko and Korolenko. Space is also found for the discussion of the latest school of poets, the Decadents, such as Constantine Balmont, Briusov, and others. We wonder, however, that Professor Brückner says nothing about Balmont's excellent translation of Shelley. We should have liked to see a fuller account of Russian historical writing, but presumably Professor Brückner does not consider this to fall within the scope of his work. In conclusion we may say that in this book we have the conscientious work of a thorough scholar, and we wish it all success.

W. R. MORFILL.

MINOR NOTICES.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are, we understand, arranging for the publication of a History of English Literature from the earliest times to the end of the Victorian age, more or less on the lines of the Cambridge Modern History. The work is to be in about twelve royal octavo volumes, of approximately 400 pages each, and will be edited by the Master of Peterhouse and Mr A. R. Waller. A history planned on so generous a scale may depend on a warm welcome from all workers in the field of English literature. We are glad to learn that the excellent bibliographical appendices of the Modern History will also be a feature of the new work. The relations of English literature to foreign literatures, a subject in which continental and American research has, during the past few years, added so much to our knowledge, will receive special attention.

We have been asked to draw attention to the 'Festschrift' which is being prepared in honour of Professor Camille Chabaneau, who celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday on the 4th of March. Professor K. Vollmöller of Dresden has placed a special volume of *Romanische Forschungen* at the disposal of those who wish to contribute. The volume will appear in the course of the year under the title *Mélanges Chabaneau*. The appeal for support is signed by more than forty leading Romanists. We regret, however, to see that the list does not include a single English or American name.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1905—February, 1906.

GENERAL.

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 HIRT, H., Die Indogermanen. Ihre Verbreitung, ihre Urheimat und ihre Kultur. I. Band. Strassburg, Trübner. 9 M.
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- Archiv für Theatergeschichte. Hrsg. von H. Devrient. II. Band. Berlin, Fleischel. 7 M. 50.
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 COLLINS, J. C., Studies in Poetry and Criticism. London, Bell. 6s. net.
 HALE, E. E., Dramatists of To-day. Rostand, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Pinero, Shaw, Philipps, Maeterlinck. New York, Holt. 1 dol. 50. net.
 MADAN, F., Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol. VI, Part I. London, Frowde. 7s. 6d. net.
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Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik. XIX. H. Ostermann, *Lautlehre des germanischen Wortschatzes in der von Morton hrsgb. Handschrift der Ancren Riwe*; I. Williams, *A grammatical investigation of the Old Kentish Glosses*; M. Trautmann, *Alte und neue Antworten auf altenglische Rätsel*; Hasu. XXI. J. Wilkes, *Lautlehre zu Aelfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob.* Bonn, Hanstein. 7 M. and 5 M. 60.

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(c) *Modern English.*

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Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library. Cambridge, Mass. 75 c.

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SOME OLD FRENCH POEMS ON THE ANTICHRIST.

I.

THE VERSION OF HENRI D'ARCI.

THE present Anglo-Norman poem on the Antichrist, copied about the middle of the XIIIth century and written doubtless at a somewhat earlier period, is published here for the first time according to the MS. Old Royal 8. E. XVII (f^o 80 *et seq.*) in the British Museum. A second copy exists in the MS. Fr. 24862 (f^o 98d *et seq.*) of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the opening and concluding lines (some thirty verses in all) have been published by Paul Meyer in an interesting memoir¹ on the manuscript in question, in which are to be found some valuable particulars concerning the author of our poem. The name of this author was Henri d'Arci; he was a templar of the establishment of Bruern or Bruer Temple in Lincolnshire and the writer of several works in Anglo-Norman. In the epilogue to one of these works, the *Vie de Sainte Thaïs*, Henri d'Arci, after mentioning himself by name and his calling, makes specific reference to his two most important compositions—the *Antichrist* and the *Descent of Saint Paul to Hell*²:

Henri d'Arci, frere del temple Salemun,
Pur amur Deu vus ai fet cest sermun;
A vus le present e as freres de la maisun.
Ne quer loer de vus si bone volenté nun,
Mes ore larrai d'escrire, par le vostre congié,
Ke le mielz del essamplaire ai enromancé;
Mes asquanz des chapitles ai je entrelessié,
Ces en qui je ne vi geres d'utilité.
E si ceste translaciun vus vient rien a gré,
Prest sui en autres choses a vostre volenté.
Mes ore, a ceste feiz, voil un poi reposer.
Nequedent, ainz que je leisse del tut ester,

¹ *Notice sur le ms. français 24862 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, contenant divers ouvrages composés ou écrits en Angleterre*, Paris, 1895.

² Published by the author of the present article in the *Revue des Langues Romanes* (tome XLVIII., Sept.—Oct. 1905).

De la venue Antecrist voil traier,
 U neistra e cum bien devra regner
 E les granz merveilles qu'il fra voil remembrer,
 E u murra e coment trestut voil comter;
 E del [jur] de juise e del grand jugement
 Dirrai aucune chose pur Deu ensement.
 Puis dirrai, par la grace del saint Esprit,
 Des peines que saint Pol l'apostle en enfert vit.
 Oez dunc le sermun ententivement,
 Ke, si bien l'escotez, si avrez amendement.

Of the two manuscripts containing Henri d'Arci's composition on the Antichrist, that of the British Museum, as Paul Meyer has already pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 26), presents a text preferable by far to that of the Paris MS. An independent examination on my part has fully confirmed this view. At the same time the variants of the MS. Fr. 24862 are not without interest, and they will be found fully communicated at the foot of the page, including a passage of about thirty lines absent from the London MS., which, however, is obviously an interpolation of the scribe. With the material at my disposal, and in view of the probable absence of the original MS., it did not seem advisable to correct L (British Museum MS.) by means of P (MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale), although it is clear that in some isolated cases this would be an advantage. I leave the reader to make the experiment for himself.

As regards the linguistic peculiarities of Henri d'Arci's poem, they are such as one would expect to find in a work written on this side of the Channel about the middle of the XIIIth century. The most important are here appended:

(a) *o* closed is occasionally rendered by *u*: *vus* 2, etc., *cum* 16, etc., *nus* 48, etc., *mult* 98, etc., *mustre* 226, as commonly in Norman and Anglo-Norman texts.

(b) The Latin ending *-ēre* of infinitives appears as *-er*, instead of *eir* (*oir*) as in French: *saver* 21, 149, *aver* 302.

(c) Latin *ē* is occasionally represented by *e* instead of *ie*: *ert* (*erit*) 6, etc., *afert* 51, *ben* 162, 164, 171, etc.

(d) *a* preceded by a palatal occasionally gives *e* instead of *ie*: *peché* 31, etc., *manger* 219.

The same peculiarity is seen in the suffix *-arius*: *maneres* 60, 111, *premer* 242, etc.

(e) The forms *liu* (*locus*) and *fu* (*focus*) which occur in numerous other Anglo-Norman texts, should be noted.

(f) Finally nasal *o* and *a* are written *oun* and *aun*, as often in Anglo-Norman: *perdioun* 51, *devaunt* 116, *creaunce* 124, 205, etc.

The versification is very defective, even for a composition written in England; half, or very nearly half, of the verses are either too long or too short according to the exigences of French verse. A few verses, it is true, may be regarded as correct, looked at in the light of Anglo-Norman metric, which could leave out of account both the feminine *e* and the protonic *e*, but even admitting this possibility, quite a third of the verses are halting. It is not my intention to enter here into the different theories that have been advanced in order to explain the striking irregularities of Anglo-Norman metric; at the same time present results are, I think, ample justification for stating that the view held by Suchier and other German scholars and combated by Paul Meyer and Vising, according to which the syllabic irregularity in certain Anglo-Norman poets can be explained by the influence of the Germanic prosodic system, is no longer admissible. In any case it is clear that the majority of Anglo-Norman poets, as time went on, forgot the rules of continental French prosody: they did not know what to count and what not to count in estimating the number of syllables in a French verse, and seem to have been satisfied with the ring, so to speak, of the rhyme at the end of each verse, provided that each verse had approximately the same length on paper. In conclusion it should be mentioned that the poem on the Antichrist of Henri d'Arci is a translation, with very few variations, of the *Libellus de Antichristo*¹ of the Abbot Adson² of Moutier-en-Der, which the latter had undertaken at the request of Gerberge, wife of Louis d'Outremer.

*Ici commence un estoyre,
De Antecrist la memoire.*

Si de Antecrist veus oyr la memoire, [F. 80. col. iv]
Ici vus dirai la verité de l'estoyre.
Oyez donc premerement pur quele acheson
Cist traïtres avera Anticrist a non.

4 Avera] aura

¹ The Latin text (about 360 lines) of the *Libellus de Antichristo* will be found in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. ci. col. 1298.

² Interesting details on Adson will be found in H. Omond's article in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. xvii. pp. 157-160; *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'Abbé Adson de Moutier-en-Der*. See also Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Par.*, i. 561-2; Calmet, *Bibliothèque Lorraine* (1751), 22-5; Cave, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici* (1745), ii. 107; *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (1742), vi. 471-92; Lelong, *Bibliothèque de la France* (1768), i. 10609, 10632, 12118, 12176, 13280; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. cxxxvii. 597, t. ci. col. 1289; Oudin, *Supplementum de Scriptoris Ecclesiasticis*, p. 308.

- 5 Por ce, sachez, Antecrist appellé sera
 Ke encontre Jhesu Crist ert e encontre guerra.
 Jhesu vint humbles, e cist orgoillous vendra;
 Jhesu vint humbles enhaucier, e cesti les abessera;
 Jhesu vint por pecheours en terre justiser,
- 10 E cesty vendra encontre ses felons enhaucer.
 La ley de l'evangelie Antecrist destruiera,
 E a honorer le deable par tot le monde comandera.
 Oez en quel liu Antecrist sera né,
 E coment il nestera e de quele ligné.
- 15 E ne quidez pas que de mon sen le vus die,
 Mes si cum je l'ay veti e oïe,
 En seinte escripture que de reen ne ment
 Nous dit tot soen avenement.
 Antecrist sera engendré e né
- 20 Des gens en Babiloine la cité,
 Ce est a saver del ligné Dan.
 Kar Jacob dist, passé a meint an,
 Ke Dan malveis colovre en la veie sera,
 E si cum la lesarde la voie gueitera.
- 25 Iceste prophecie paremplie sera
 De Antecrist que de la ligné Dan nestera.
 Touz iceus que a sey convertir ne porra
 Par sa grant malice les devorra.

6 Ke encuntre crist ert encuntre crist vivera 7 Jhesu vint humbles]
 Ke crist vint umble 8 Crist vint les homes eshaucer et cil les abessera
 12 *Instead of this one verse, we read the following three in the Paris ms.:*

Sultivement des diables al mund remettra
 Sa propre glorie en totes manieres querra
 Deu omnipotent de tuz clamer se fra

16—20 *These verses are amplified as follows in the Paris ms.:*

Ke ne l'ai contrové pas ne quidez mie
 Mes les livres mult ententivement cercai
 E si cum jel trovai escrit sil vus dirrai
 E si vus ne dirrai ce sacez poi ne grant
 Fors ce dunt puis ave[ir] le livre a garant
 Si cum nus volum mustrer par auctorité
 Antecrist del poeple as gius iert engendré

21 Et ce fet a saver de la lignée dan 22 Kar Jacob dist] Ke jacob le
 prophaita dist 26 Dan serra fet colevre et en la veie serra 27—8 *Re-*
placed by the following verses in the Paris ms.:

E si cum le serpent el sente demora
 E mulz de la veie de bien desturnera
 E par le venim de sa malice ocira
 Tuz icels qu'il a soi convertir ne porra

- De père e de mere nestera cum autre gent,
 30 Neent, cum mouz quident, de virge soulement. [F. 81. col. i]
 En peché sera né, en peché engendré,
 En peché conceü, icel maleüré.
 Un Giu de sa femme espouse engendera
 Antecrist que tot le monde devorra.
- 35 Meïmes le houre k'il conceü sera
 Ly deable el ventre sa mere enterra,
 E pus en la sue garde tot dis mes sera,
 Ke de ly ne de sa mere mes ne departira;
 E si cum ly seint esprit vint en Marie
- 40 Kant ele conceüt, si ne departi mie,
 Mes de la seinte vertue la enumbra,
 E de la divine Grace la esclumina,
 Autresi li malfé en Antecrist descendera,
 E li e sa mere partot environnera.
- 45 Fyz de perdicion appellé sera.
 Ore oiez en quel liu Antecrist nestera:
 Si cum nostre sauveour douz Jhesu Crist
 En Belem ou il voleit nestre por nus eslit
 Ausi a porveü li deable (a) soen metre:
- 50 Ce est la cité de Babiloine ou il deïst nestre,
 E cel liu afert bien al fiz de perdicioun,
 Kar Babiloine dist autretant cum confusion.
 En deus citez sera norri e conversera:
 Ce est en Corozain e en Bethsaida,
- 55 Por ce les maldit nostre sire Ihesu Crist
 En un liu del evangille ou il dist:
- 32 En pechié conceu et en pechié iert né 33—4 *Lacking in the Paris ms.*
 41 Et de la sue sainte vertu la umbra 42 Et de divinité tute l'environa
 43—4 *These lines are expanded as follows in the Paris ms.:*
- Qu'ele del seint esperit voirement conceust
 E ce que de li neïstreit devin et seint fust
 Issi le diable en la mere antecrist descendra
 E de la sue vertu tute la emplira
 E si la environera dedenz et defors
 E sun habitacle aura fet en sun cors
 Por ce qu'il serra par son enticement conceu
 Soit del tut en tut felun e mal e perdu
- 45 *After this verse the following two are inserted in the Paris ms.:*
- Ke ces qui nel voldrunt consentir destruire
 E il meïmes a la parfin destruit sera
- 47 Bethleem u il voleit por nus neïstre eslit 49 Ausi li ad porveu liu li
 diable sun mestre 55 Por ce les maldit] por ce les blesma

- Maldit seit Bethsayda, maldeit seit Corozain,
 Kar en vus conversera le vessel de venim!
 Icist Antecrist avera oue sei devinours e sorceres
- 60 E enchanteours de diverse maneres,
 Ke par le espirement del deable l'enseigneront [Col. ii]
 E de tot fauseté l'en aprenderont;
 E ly esprit del malfé ly gouvernera
 E touz jours sanz departir oue ly sera.
- 65 E en apres deskes en Ierusalem vendra
 E soen se en le temple domini mettra;
 E se fera circuncire selon la veille ley;
 E dira a les gens k'il est lour dieu e lour rei,
 E por lour salvacion est venu ce lour dira;
- 70 Or e argent e richesses assez lour dorra.
 Lors convertira les princes e les reis,
 E par eus ly poples, si lour dorra ses leys;
 E touz iceus k'yl ne porra a sei convertir
 Devant ly de malemort les fera morir.
- 75 Donc commandera chescun crestien Dieu reneer,
 Ou par fu ou par fer les fera touz oscir,
 Ou par serpenz ou par bestes detraire,
 Cil que ne voldront en ly creire.
 Les lius ou Ihesu Crist nostre sire ala
- 80 Ices meïmes Antecrist environnera;
 E ce que Ihesu Crist fist a son pover le defra,
 Kar de malice e de felonnie plein sera.
 E en apres messagers pecheours assemblera;
 Par tot le universe monde les enveiera;
- 85 Sa predication tendra en le orient,
 E del su en le norz e deske en le occident;
 E sa poesté et sa mestrie ensement
 E sa seignourie fera sour tote gent.
 Donc fera il miracles e merveilles assez:
- 90 Ke les clops iront, e verront les avuglés,

57 Wai tei bethsayda wai tei corozaim 59 Devinours e sorceres] sorceries
 60 E devinours e chantairs etc. 62 E de tote fauseté le endoctrinerunt
 63 E les malignes esperiz tut dis le verront 64 E tuz jurs sanz departi
 ses compaignuns seront 66 E sun siege a etc. 67 Dunc se fra circuncire
 et dira as juels 68 Qu'il est messias qui est premis a els 70 E il les
 assemb[le]ra tuz ce lur promettra 74 De male mort les fra morir 75 Dunc
 comendra as crestiens deu a reneer 76 Oscir] tuer 78 Cels qui convertir
 ne voldront nen lui creire 81 A son pover le defra] ice defra 89 E
 merveilles assez] e merveilles 90 Les avuglés] les avoegles

- E les sourz orront, e ly mus averont sancté;
 E tost fera le solail torner en oscurté; [Col. iii]
 E la lune en sanc soudeinement tornera;
 E fu del ciel hisdusement venir fera,
 95 E les arbres fera il soudeinement foillier;
 E pus kant il voudra les fra touz ensechier;
 La mer commovera par son commandement,
 E derechef l'apeisera mult soudeinement;
 Il fera les eves changer lour colours,
 100 E totes autres natures turnera en rebours;
 Le eir par vent e par pluie commovera,
 E autres miracles e merveilles fera.
 Touz les miracles que Ihesu fist Antecrist fera,
 Fors soul tant que nul mort ne resuscitera.
 105 Mes les miracles que il fera faus seront,
 E as mescreanz e as pecheours vrai seront.
 Tanz des merveilles Antecrist fera
 Ke les eslyz Dieu en mescreance mettra.
 Si diront entre eus: ce [est] nostre sauve(ou)r
 110 Ke es venu en terre por le mond juger.
 En treis maneres tornera a sei la gent:
 Par dons, par miracles, par poour de torment.
 Ceus que par poour convertir ne porra
 Par miracles e merveilles les decevera,
 115 E ceus que il ne porra par miracles torner
 Il les fera devaunt ly tuer.

95 Foillier] florir 96 Ensechier] sechir 99 Les ewes fra cil enemí
 changer lur curs 101 E par pluie c.] e par fluvies c. 102 E merveilles
 fera] e forceries fera 103—5 *These verses are lacking in the Paris ms.*
 106 Mes as mescreanz por verrais aparunt 107 Kar quant cels miracles e
 merveilles verrunt 108 Si doterunt entreus ces qui parfit sunt 109 Saver
 u nun si ce soit icel meimes crist 110 Que la sainte scripture al mund
 venir promet 112—16 *This passage is amplified as follows in the Paris ms.:*

Par duns par miracles par pour de tourment
 Kar mult grant richeises e mult grant habundance
 Promettra a cels qu'il turnera a sa creance
 Puis durra or e argent a grant fuisun
 A cels qui convertir(ir)unt par sa precheisun
 Issi convertira plusurs e decevera
 Par les richeises e les duns qu'il lur dora
 E cels qu'il ne porra corrompre par l'argent
 Si(1) les surmuntera par pour de turment
 E cels qu'il par avoir detenir ne porra
 Ne par pour par miracles les avera
 E cels qu'il ne porra par miracles turner
 Si(1) fra devant tuz cruelment tuer

- Itele persecutioun idonkes sera
 Tele ne fu pus que ly siecle commença.
 Kar si cum nostre seignor le pronuncia :
 120 Ly fiz le pere, e ly pere le fiz, traïra,
 E ly frere livera a la mort son frere,
 Mere la fille, e la fille sa mere,
 Kar sovent avendra que ly fiz renera [Col. iv]
 E ly pere en sa bone creaunce remeïndera,
 125 E sovent reneïront pere e mere,
 E la fille reneïera sanz la mere.
 E issi reneïeront entre eus changablement
 Hommes et femmes par tot le mond communement.
 Kant ces que si faitement reneïé seront
 130 Veront que les autres reneïer ne voderont,
 Si les liveront a la mort par lour traïson.
 Allas, cum cheitive e dolorouse persecucion !
 Donc reneïeront Ihesu Crist lour seignor,
 Pour les miracles que il fera e verront, e par la pour.
 135 Kar Antecrist, e ses ministres ensement,
 Par tot le mond destruieront crestiene gent.
 Mes, si cum nostre sire en le evangille dist,
 Ke se tient deske a la fin, cil ert sauf e eslit.
 Ly tens Antecrist durra treis anz e demi,
 140 Kar la seint escriptoure demustre tot issi.
 Seint eglise karante moys defoleront
 Antecrist e ses ministres que ly ensuiront.
 Tant dura la persecution de malveis Antecrist,
 Si cum seint eglise nus temoine e dit.
 145 Donc abregera Dieu les jours pour les eslyz,
 Ke il ne seient par le malfé touz periz.
 Si il regnat un demi an plus avant,
 Homme ne femme ne sereit sauf vivant.
 Si vus plest saver kant Antecrist vendra
 150 Oez quei Seint Pol de sa venue parla :
 Ne vendra pas, ce dit, ly fiz de perdicion,
 Deceque seit fet primes discension,

125 E la fille reneera souvent sa mere
 pere e mere

126 E souvent reneerunt andui
 127—8 *These two lines are lacking.*

130 *After this verse*

the following occurs :

Issi reneerunt tuz ensemblement

146 Ou perireient autrement les parfiz

147—8 *Lacking in the Paris ms.*

149 Si vus plest saver] si vus demandez

- Ce est a dire, deceque touz les regnes del mond
 Seient departi de Rome, que enclins y sont, [F. 82. col. i]
- 155 Kar tot le mond fu jadis sujet a Rome
 E treu ly dona chescun an par costume.
 Mes, ainz que viene ly fiz al enemí,
 Tot le mond de son empire ert departi;
 Mes cel tens n'est venu oncore mie,
- 160 Ne les regnes de Rome departie.
 Kant chescun empire destruite sera,
 L'empire de Rome ben se gouvernera,
 Tant cum les Romeins en vie seront;
 L'empire o lour pover ben gouvereront;
- 165 La digneté de Rome pas tot ne perira,
 Ke en ces reis meïmes la digneté estera.
 Aucuns de nos mestres dient qu'al dereins tens
 Sera un rei des François sages et de grans sans
 Ke tendra enterement l'empire des Romeins,
- 170 E ert de tot reis de Rome ly derreins;
 E kant il avera le regne ben governé,
 Longement en pes e en mult debonourté,
 A la fin cil reis en Ierusalem ira,
 E deske al mont de Calvarie donc vendra,
- 175 E prendra la coronne de son chef, si la mettra
 Sor la croyz que iloc affiché verra;
 Pus tendra vers le ciel en haut ses meins,
 E lyvera a Dieu le regne des Romeins.
 Issi finera l'empire et tote la poesté
- 180 De Rome e de tote la crestienté.
 E en apres, si cum Seint Pol ly apostle dit,
 Sanz nule demorance vendra Antecrist,
 Nekedent mes que il ne viegne despurvuement,
 E deceive e mette en erreur tote gent. [Col. ii]

156 Chescun] cheun
 160—4:

157 Mes ainz que seit revele cil fiz al enemí

Car meis que sunt empire seit destruite et partie
 Nequedent portant cum les reis françois durrunt
 L'empire de rume tenir deverunt

169 L'empire des Romeins] l'empire rumain
 e en grant boneurté 173 A la fin] a la parfin 174 E tres qu'al munt
 chaut pas de calvarie vendra 176 Sur le chef a la croiz que en cel lui
 serra 178 E livra sur le regne a deu des romains

- 185 Deus prophetes vendront devant soen nesement,
 Pour dire e pour nuncier soen advenement:
 Ce est Enok e Elye que devant ly venderont,
 E treis anz e demi en le secle precheront,
 E les elys Dieu en lour fey confermeront ;
- 190 E por eus enseigner e garnir vendront.
 Totes les villes que en le siecle seront
 Ices deus prophetes a Dieu convertiront.
 E donc sera acompli a cel houre
 Ce que nus trovon en la seinte escripture.
- 195 Si le nombre des genz fust autretant
 Cum gravele de la mer, sauf ert le remenant.
 Pus kant il averont lour predicatioun acompli,
 Cum je vus ai dit par treis anz e demi,
 Apres ce tanttost Antecrist vendra,
- 200 E de primes vers les prophetes guerre commencera,
 E tant durement se tornera vers eus
 Ke il les oscira les prophetes ambedeus ;
 E kant il les avera oscis ensemblement
 Lés autres feus Dieu guerra durement ;
- 205 E ceus k'il ne pourra torner a sa creaunce
 Il les fera tuer sanz nule demorance.
 Trestouz que en ly fermement crerount
 Signe de sa creaunce en lour front averont.
 Ore avez oÿ ou Antecrist nestera
- 210 E les miracles el mond que il fera,
 Ore oiez en quel liu cil malfé morra
 E coment e en quele guise il finera :
 Pus kil avera treis anz e demi regné
 E le pople Dieu par divers tormenz pené, [Col. iii]
- 215 A la fin vendra sor ly grant peine
 E Dieu ly oscira de sa grace demeine.
 Seint escriptoure dit que Antecrist morra
 En cel liu ou Ihesu en le ciel monta.

189 E les elys Dieu] e les feelz deu 191 Tuz les melz qui dunques en
 cel tens serrunt 196 Cum est grefe de mer sauf erent li remenant 199 Apres
 ce tantost] apres ici chaut pas 200 E de primes vers eus were commovera
 201 Se corucera 204 Les autres feelz deu werera erraument 207 E
 tuz icels qui en lui dunc creire vuldrunt 211 Cil malfé morra] cil ennemi
 murra 212 E coment e en quel liu il fin(en)era 215 Grant peine]
 vengeance e peine 216 Grace demeine] vertu demeine 217 Il dient que
 sun paveillun occis sera

- Kant Antecrist si fetement sera ocis
 220 Ne vendra mie erraument li jor de juis,
 Mes karante jours de fere penance
 Dorra Dieus a ses eslyz sanz dotance;
 E ces karante jours lour penance feront
 Les elyz Dieu que par Antecrist deceü seront;
 225 E kant la penance sera finie,
 Cum Jeremie nus mustre en sa prophecie,
 Nul ne ert en vie que donc dire savera
 Kant le jour de juisse apres ce vendra,
 Fors soul Dieu que totes choses fourma.
 230 Kant son pleisir ert le siecle jugera.
 Ore oez cum Dieu vendra al jugement,
 E coment apparont devant ly tote gent
 Ly jour de juisse, si cum ly livre tesmoinne:
 Il vendra le jour de Pasche par un dimaine.
 235 E le jour devant tote gent morront,
 Hommes e femmes que en vie seront,
 E pus en ausi poy de houre releveront;
 Cum oyl se clout e ovre al jugement vendront.
 Lors vendra al jugement nostre douz syre,
 240 Oue grant disdeinance o corrouz e o ire;
 E si ne vendra mie soul al jugement,
 Cum il vint soul a soen premer aveignement,
 Mes oue grant glorie vendra e o grant seignorie,
 E les nefes ordres des angles en sa compaignie, [Col. iv]
 245 Patriarkes, prophetes, apostles, oue li vendront,
 E touz les autres seinz qui en le ciel seront,
 Martirs, virges, e ly confessour;
 E les angles iront devant nostre seignour,
 Si porteront le signe de la croyz avant,
 250 Si cum Jeremie nus dit que est nostre garant.
 Pus kant il ert oue son grant ost avalé,
 Que il ert venu (c)el liu que est appelle Estelé,

221 Penance]	penitence	223 E en quarante jorz frunt	penitence tuz
224 Les eliz qui serrunt par antecrist	sduiz	225 Puis quant il averunt la	
penitence finie	226 Cum daniel nus mustre etc.	227 Nul n'iert suz	
ciel qui unques dire saura	229 Fors sul dampnedeu etc.	235 E le	
samadi devant etc.	238 <i>This line is lacking</i>	239 Nostre douz syre]	
nostre sire	245 E les patriarches ensemble od lui vendrunt	246 E les	
prophetes qui de deu parlerent en cest mund	247 E li apostle martir virgne		
et confessor	250 Cum saint jeroime dit trovum a guarant	252 Qu'il	
ert venu el ciel qu'il clament estelle			

- Lequel est par entre la lune e la firmament,
 Donc charra le fu sor la terre espesement;
 255 Tote la terre ardera que est desouz le ciel,
 Si ke ly mont e ly val seront ouel;
 La flamme del feu tant haut montera
 Cum l'eve de la terre parfond sera.
 Dont ert ly jour mult cruel e plein de hydour,
 260 Kant les seinz e les angles trembleront de poour;
 Donc sonera Sein Michel sa busine dreins,
 Ke de touz les angles est primes e souverains;
 Les autres angles chescun sa busine businera,
 E Seint Michel la derreine busine sonera.
 265 E al son de cele busine releveront
 Les hommes e les femmes que mort seront;
 Les cors e les almes touz se assembleront
 En un poy de houre de mort releveront;
 E touz les esliz seront ouelement granz
 270 E de une belté e d'eage de trente anz.
 L'eage des dampnez e de lour estature
 Ne parole reen la seint escriptoure.
 Lors seront touz les eslyz en liu ravi
 Ou nostre sires sera e ses angles oue ly; [F. 83. col. i]
 275 E les cheitifs dampnez sor la terre esteront,
 Enmi la flamme, mes pas ne arderont,
 Mes le fu d'enfer les ardera, je vus affi,
 Solon ce ke chescun avera deservi.
 Donc seront departi li malveis de les esliz,
 280 Si cum hommes depart chevres de berbiz.
 Les eslyz mettra Dieus a sa destre,
 E les malveis mettra a sa senestre;
 Donc se tornera Dieus a sa destre partie,
 E dira a la beneite compaignie:
 285 Venez avant, les benoïrez fiz mon pere, venez!
 Le regne del ciel que vus attent recevez!

254 Dunc charra fu sur terre cum pluie espesement	255 E dunc
ardra la terre qui est sus ciel	257 La flambe del fu tant halt en l'air montra
258 Cum l'ewe del diluvie noe jadis monta	263 Car sis angles chascun le
suen businera	268 E en si poi d'ure de mort cum oil clot releverunt
273 En liu ravi] en l'air ravi	276 Mes pas ne arderont] mes pas iluec nen
arderunt	277 Je vus affi] sacez de fi
279 Li malveis de les esliz] les	282 E
maus et les esliz	280 Si cum l'em departe cheverels de berbiz
285 Venez avant les beneitz etc.	

- Kar je avoie feim e seif e vus me saülastes,
 E sovent [fui] nuz e povre e vus me eidastes;
 Kant je fui sanz oustel vus me herbergastes;
 290 Kant je estoie en prison vus me visitastes.
 Donc responderont les esliz e diront sanz respit:
 Sire, kant vus veïmes tel cum vus avez dit?
 E il dira: kant vus feistes ben a un de mes povre eliz,
 Si le feistes a moy, ce sachez, bel douz fiz.
 295 E en apres a son senestre tornera,
 E as cheitifs dampnez irousement dira:
 Departez de moi, maleürez, en liu pardurable
 Ke en enfer est appareillé al deable!
 Kar je avoie feim e seif e fu en grant grevance
 300 E onkes par vus ne avoie nul allegance.
 E donc diront iceus: kant vus veïmes si povrement
 Aver mesaises e ne vus aidames nent?
 E Dieu dira: kant a miens ne feites reen
 Donc ne feistes pas a moy, ce sachez ben. [Col. ii]
 305 Lors iront ceus en pardurable peine,
 E les eslyz, en la joie souveraine.
 Jhesu Crist, Dieu omnipotent,
 Ke ciel e terre fist de neent,
 Nous ameine a cele clarté
 310 Ou reen n'y a de obscurté! Amen.

L. E. KASTNER.

287 Kar je avoie] car jo oi 288 Em ferm et en chartre fui et vus me
 rewardastes 289 Quant jo fui sanz ostel vus me requilistes 290 Suvent
 fui senz dras et vus me vestistes 293 E il dirra quant ben feistes a mes
 petiz 296 Irousement dira] si faitement dirra 297 Departez de mei
 maleiz al fu pardurable 299 Car jo oi faini e sei em ferm en chartre fui
 300 E senz ostel mes unc aie de vus nen oi 301 Dunc dirront quant vus
 veïmes si faitement 306 E les dreiturels en la joie souveraine 307—10 *These*
verses are lacking in the Paris ms., which, however, contains the following concluding
passage, absent from the London ms.:

Atant estes vus parfini le jugement
 E nostre sire montera au cel erraument
 Puis ert cest secle delitable et de grant belté
 Quant par fu cum dis devant ert espurgé
 E nequedent mes qu'il seit bel et delitable
 Ne maindra mes nul home e nul diable
 Dunc resplendirunt les sainz cum soleil el ciel
 Nequedent ne serrunt pas tuz li sainz vel
 Car une esteille al ciel plus qu'a[u]tre est clere
 E lez seinz serrunt en meime la manere

Li soleil resplendira apres le jugement
Set feiz plus qu'il ne fet ore plus clerement
E trestuz cels qui serrunt bons parfitement
Resplendirunt cum li soleil fra dunc certainement
Les autres qui de si grant merite ne serrunt
Sulunc leur deserte idunc resplendirunt
Ha deus cum par a ci grant dignité
Qu'home deit estre al ciel en si grant clarté
Meint hom dit si fusse dedenz lus de paradis
Je avereie joie e clarté assez tuz dis
Il dit vers mes ce ne dust il mie dire
Car que co dit mei est avis qu'il dit folie
Car icels qui dient qu'il ne querent neent plus
Mes qu'il poissent estre sulement dedenz lus
De fieble quor lur vient tels diz u pensers
Qu'il voldreient estre dereins et nent as premiers
Mes oez mun conseil trestuz communement
Seez de quor si pernez a vus grant hardement
Enpernez le ben a faire e dex vus aidera
Deservez le plus haut liu e deus le vus durra
Deu par sa grace nus doinst estre as premerains
U si ce nun aukune part nus doins o les dereins

PROVENÇAL WORDS IN ENGLISH.

I HAVE nowhere seen an account of such English words as have been borrowed directly from Provençal; and I therefore take this opportunity of discussing a detail in the composition of our language which has nowhere been dealt with.

Of course, there can be no doubt that, among the numerous words which we have borrowed at various times from French, a few were borrowed by the Parisians from the South of France, and are thus Provençal words at second-hand. Examples occur in *badinage*, *cabin*, *cabinet*, *cadet*, *cardoon*, *fad*, *fig*, *radish*, *rigadoon*, and some others. The consideration of these forms belongs rather to the history of French than of English. *Flamingo* is likewise of Provençal origin.

Neither is there anything very remarkable in the fact that the words *tulle* and *valance* are derived, respectively, from the place-names Tulle and Valence, both of which are in the South of France; for it is not likely that these came to us otherwise than through Northern French. But there are a few words which we seem to have imported directly from Southern France, and it becomes historically interesting to consider how such a result came about. It forms a small, but separate chapter in our linguistic history.

There are a couple of lines in Chaucer's description of the Shipman which throw a clear light upon the matter. He says:

Ful many a draught of wyn had he y-drawe
From Burdeux-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.

We must remember that, in the days of Edward III. and Richard II., Bordeaux and the adjoining country belonged to England; and that when the Shipman brought casks of wine from the river Gironde to the river Thames, the communication was quite direct, from one part of England's dominions to another, and had nothing to do with Northern France. We might therefore expect that at least some of the terms connected with the wine trade were necessarily Provençal. Such was

actually the case with the words *funnel*, *puncheon*, *rack*, *spigot*, and *ullage*; words which have given the etymologists a good deal of trouble. I may claim to have myself established the etymologies of these words, though Mr Wedgwood had already compared *funnel*, *rack*, and *ullage* with Languedoc forms, without assigning any reason.

However, it is now clear that *funnel* represents the Prov. *founil*, longer form *enfounilh*, from the Latin *infundibulum*. *Puncheon*, in the sense of 'cask,' is not from the French *poignon*, but from the Gascon *pouchoun*. To *rack* wine, i.e. to clear it from dregs, is from the Gascon verb *arraca*, which has that very sense; and *arraca* is itself derived from *raca*, a docked form of *draca*, 'dregs,' answering to the Old French *drache*. *Spigot* represents an old form *espigot*, now only used in the sense of 'an ear of corn well thrashed,' but originally a variant of *espigoun*, which means precisely 'a spigot'; from the Latin *spica*. *Ullage* is a technical term which I have explained in my *Concise Dictionary* (1901).

But these words are not all; we may add to them *battledoor*, *league*, *noose*, *troubadour*; and even *lingo* and *sirrah*. All these have an interesting history.

When the Shipman and his fellows sailed up the Gironde, we cannot doubt that they saw many young washerwomen diligently washing clothes by the river-side with the aid of a batlet, which was called at that time a *batedor* in Provençal, and simply means 'a beater.' They promptly learnt the word, but turned it into *battledoor*, by association with *battle*, which in provincial English still means 'a mallet.' *Batedor* is formed like *troubadour*, which is well known to be Provençal.

League, as a measure of distance, answers to the Prov. *lega*, modern Bordeaux *lègue* (so says Mistral), not to the French *lieue*. Cotgrave notes that the French *lieue* measures about two miles, whilst that of Languedoc measures three. That is why the English marine league measures three miles likewise. It is a sailor's word; so the Shipman knew it. It appears in Middle English in Chaucer's time.

Why *noose* should be a Gascon word is not at first obvious; but a moment's consideration will explain it. When the Shipman wanted to come to land, he had to throw a noose at the end of a rope over a post, as is done still; so there is no wonder at his acquiring the Gascon name for it; it was, literally, the first Gascon name that required his notice. It represents the Gascon *nos*, mod. Prov. *nous*, from the Latin nominative *nodus*; whereas the French *nœud* is from the accusative *nodum*. The Languedoc plural of *nous* is *nouses*. Mistral gives a

Provençal proverb, in the form—‘Fai-te ’n nous à la co,’ literally, ‘make thee a noose for thy neck,’ which we express more briefly by the words ‘be hanged.’

Mistral, in his Provençal Dictionary, tells us that *lingo* is the precise form used at Marseilles. No doubt our sailors picked it up at that famous port. It does not appear in English till 1660, long after we lost Gascony.

The story of *sirrah* is one that greatly interested me, when I first found it in Mistral. It does not represent the French *sire*, which is a title of honour, but the Provençal *sira*, which (though it is the same word) is very much the reverse. It is merely the French word *sire* adapted to a Southern pronunciation; but altered in sense owing to a difference in the point of view. The Southerners detested the French *sires*, and went so far as to use this polite title as a term of contempt. This throws a clear light upon the use of the word by English writers.

W. W. SKEAT.

A PAMPHLET BY BISHOP BERKELEY.

(HITHERTO UNDESCRIBED.)

It may interest students of Bishop Berkeley to call attention to the existence of a publication of his which seems to have escaped the notice of his editors. The following is the title :—

Queries | relating to a | National Bank, | extracted from the Querist. | also the | Letter | containing | A Plan or Sketch of such Bank. | Republished with Notes. | Dublin. | Printed, and Sold by George Faulkner, | Book-seller, in *Essex-street*, opposite the Bridge. | MDCCXXXVII.

The pamphlet is of 40 pp.; the signatures indicate a quarto, but my cut copy has the appearance rather of an 8vo. Chronologically it comes immediately after the third part of 'The Querist.' In separate sections it gives Queries from the First Part of the Querist, pp. 3-13, Second Part, pp. 14-23, Third Part, pp. 24-33. 'The Plan | or | Sketch of a | A [*sic*] National Bank | To A. B. *Esq*;' occupies pp. 34-40 and is signed 'The Querist.' I have not noticed in the queries any variations of text from those of 'The Querist' in its earliest form, but my examination has not been minute.

The 'Advertisement' (p. 2) shows that the selection is Berkeley's own: 'The Author hath thought fit to select the following Queries from among others of a Miscellaneous Nature, intermixed with them in the Querist, to the End that, those which relate to a National Bank being brought together in one View, the Reader may be the better enabled to judge of the Usefulness of such a Proposal, and understand the Grounds thereof.'

'The Plan or Sketch of a National Bank' is altered and enlarged from the letter of Berkeley to Thomas Prior which was published by Prior with Berkeley's approval in the *Dublin Journal* (1737), and may be found reprinted in Professor Fraser's *Life and Letters of Berkeley*

(1871), pp. 248–249. As the alterations and additions are considerable it may be printed here in full :

Sir,

You tell me, Gentlemen would not be averse from the National Bank proposed in the Querist, provided they could see a distinct Sketch or Plan of such Bank drawn up in one View. The Querist indeed, only puts Questions, and offers Hints, not presuming to direct the wisdom of the Legislature. But it should seem no difficult Matter to convert Queries into Propositions. However, since you desire a short Abstract of my Thoughts on this Subject, take them as follows.

I conceive that in order to erect a National Bank, it may be expedient to enact :

I. That an additional Tax be raised of ten Shillings the Hogshead on Wine ; or, that such other Tax be raised as shall seem good to the Legislature.

II. That the Fund arising from such Tax, be Stock for a National Bank, the Deficiencies whereof to be made good by Parliament.

III. That Bank Notes be minted (a) to the Value of one hundred thousand Pounds, in round Numbers from one Pound to Twenty. (b)

IV. That such Notes be issued, either to particular Persons on Cash, or Security ; or else, to the Uses of the Publick on its own Securities.

V. That a House, Treasurer, Cashiers, and other Officers, (c) be appointed in *Dublin*, for the uttering and answering of Bills ; for the judging of Securities ; for the receiving and keeping of Cash ; and for the managing of this Bank as other Banks are managed.

(a) No Country hath more natural Advantages. Our Wants therefore are mostly to be resolved into the Want of Skill and Industry in our People ; the proper Encouragement whereof consists in ready Payments. These Payments must be made with Money, and Money is of two Sorts, Specie or Paper. Of the former, we neither have a sufficient Quantity, nor yet Means of acquiring it. Of the latter Sort, we may have what we want, as good and current as any Gold for Domestic Uses. Why should we not therefore reach forth our Hand, and take of that Sort of Money which is in our Power ; and which makes far the greater Part of the Wealth of the most flourishing States in Europe ? This, by promoting Industry at home, may advance our Credit abroad ; and in the Event, multiply our Gold and Silver.

(b) It seems very evident that, be the Fund what it will ; or in Case there was no Fund at all ; yet those Notes would circulate with full Credit, if they were sure to pass in all Payments of the Revenue. That is to say, the Government itself could give more Credit to that Paper, than any other Security now current among us.

(c) Among these it is proposed, that there be two Managers with Salaries : One of whom always to attend ; and that such Officers be at first named in the Act, and afterward replaced by the Visitors.

VI. That there be twenty-one Visitors; one Third of these, Persons in great Office (*d*) for the Time Being; the rest, Members of either House of Parliament, some whereof to go out by Lot, and as many to come in by Ballot once in two Years.

VII. That such Visitors visit the Bank in a Body four Times every Year; (*e*) and any Three of them as often as they please.

VIII. That no Bills or Notes be minted, but by Order of Parliament. (*f*)

IX. That it be Felony to counterfeit the Notes of this Bank.

X. That as the Publick is at all the Charge, and makes good the Credit of this Bank, so the Publick be alone Banker, or sole Proprietor of this Bank; the Profits whereof shall be accounted for in Parliament, and applied under the Direction of the Legislature, to the promoting of publick Works and Manufactures. (*g*)

For the better administering of this National Bank to the Content of all Persons, it will be thought expedient to add divers Regulations about the Number and Choice of Visitors, and other Officers concerned in so great a Trust, into some Share whereof it may not perhaps altogether seem improper to admit the Deputies of great Corporations. For the same End, those several Precautions by Signatures, Cyphers, strong Boxes under divers Keys, and such like Checks, which are used in other Banks, would not be omitted in this.

A Bank wherein there are no Sharers, would be free from all the

(*d*) No just Jealousy can be conceived of the Power of such Visitors, inasmuch as they are to give no new Directions, but only see that the Directions of the Legislature be observed.

(*e*) It is objected, that this were too much Trouble to be expected from Visitors who have no Salaries. But if four Times be thought too often, twice may do. It is hardly to be supposed, that Gentlemen would begrudge the Attendance of two Days in the Year *Gratis*, for the Service of their Country; or if there be such Gentlemen, it cannot be supposed that they would be chosen by Ballot. But this may be provided against, by allowing Persons, who cannot attend, Leave to decline the Office, and electing others in their Stead.

(*f*) Under the Direction of the Parliament, the Publick Weal will prescribe a Limit to the Bank Notes, which will always preserve their Use and Value, provided they are multiplied only in Proportion to Industry, and to answer to the Demands of Industry. Paper Credit can never be so secure of doing Good to a State, as by making the Demands of Industry its Measure, and the increase of Industry its End. The same holds also with Regard to Gold and Silver. The not considering this seems to have been the great Oversight.

(*g*) Men disposed to object, will confound the most different Things. We have had, indeed, Schemes of private Association formerly proposed, which some may mistake for National Banks. But it doth not appear that any Scheme of this Nature was ever proposed in these Kingdoms: And among the Foreign Banks, perhaps there will not be found one established on so clear a Foot of Credit, contrived for such a general and easy Circulation; and so well secured from Frauds and Accidents, as that which it is now hoped may, by the Wisdom of our Legislature, be modelled and erected in Ireland.

Evils of Stock-jobbing. A Bank, whereof the Publick makes all the Profit, and therefore makes good all Deficiencies, must be most secure. Such a Bank prudently managed, would be a Mine of Gold in the Hands of the Publick. The Bills therein minted, would be equivalent to so much Money imported into the Kingdom. The Advantages of such a Bank in restoring Credit, promoting Industry, answering the Wants, as well of the Publick as of private Persons, putting Spirit into our People, and enlivening our Commerce, will, I suppose, be evident to whoever shall consider the Queries of late proposed to the Publick.

Reasons for a National Bank and answers to Objections are particularly insisted on in the Querist, wherein are contained also several other Matters relating to such Bank; which in Time may be further improved, altered, and enlarged, as the Circumstances of the Publick shall require.

Every one sees that a National Bank admits of many variations, and minute Particulars, divers of which are hinted by the Querist, but the Publick will chuse what shall be judged most convenient.

It should seem the Difficulty doth not consist so much in the contriving or executing of a National Bank, as in bringing Men to a right Sense of the Publick Weal, and of the Tendency of such Bank to promote the same.

To explain these Points, and to urge them home, both from Reason and Example, hath been the Aim of the Querist, particularly of the third Part just now Published, which, with the two foregoing, contains many Hints designed to put Men upon thinking what is to be done in this Critical State of our Affairs; which perhaps, may be easily retrieved and placed on a better Foot than ever, if those among us, who are most concerned, be not wanting to themselves.

I am your humble Servant,

The QUERIST.

It may be worth noticing that in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (IV, p. 355) "The Querist, Part III" is mentioned as "Part IV, 1737." There was no "Part IV."

EDWARD DOWDEN.

THOMAS MOORE ET A. DE VIGNY.

DEUX articles récents, l'un de M. Ernest Dupuy sur les *Origines littéraires d'A. de Vigny*¹, l'autre de M. Schultze-Gora sur *Eloa*², ont insisté sur les emprunts ou les réminiscences qui rattachent ce 'mystère' à d'autres œuvres, surtout étrangères. Ils sont d'accord pour réduire au minimum l'influence qu'a pu exercer Moore sur Vigny, et le poème des *Amours des Anges* leur semble devoir être rayé du nombre des ouvrages dont procéderait à quelque degré la *Sœur des Anges*. Ils s'écartent en ceci de l'opinion de Sainte-Beuve qui mettait en 1835 'Thomas Moore lui-même' parmi les 'sources extérieures du talent poétique de M. de Vigny, si on les recherche bien³.' Dès la publication d'*Eloa*, Henri de Latouche, lié avec Vigny, avait, dans le *Mercur du XIX^e Siècle*, indiqué sans s'y arrêter que 'l'invention de cette fable a quelque analogie avec tel poème de Moore, ou de Byron'; un rédacteur du *Globe*, Ch. Magnin, notait le 21 octobre 1829 'qu'auprès d'*Eloa*, les *Amours des Anges*, de Thomas Moore, ne sont qu'une mesquine et coquette conception, un feu follet sans consistance et sans portée.' Même en supposant un classement aussi inégal des deux ouvrages, le rapprochement paraissait s'imposer: on le rencontre encore sous la plume d'un critique aussi informé qu'Emile Montégut: '*Eloa* a son origine dans les *Amours des Anges* de Moore,' écrit-il dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* du 1^{er} mars 1867⁴. Il est permis enfin de retrouver un souvenir déguisé de cette association presque convenue de deux œuvres séraphiques dans l'allusion faite à la fois par Balzac aux *Amours des Anges* et à une série de créations plus ou moins analogues, lorsqu'il parle—assez à l'improviste—du 'poème caressé par tant de poètes, par Moore, par lord Byron, par Mathurin, par Canalis (un démon possédant

¹ *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, x. (1903), p. 373. Reproduit en volume dans la *Jeunesse des Romantiques*, Paris, 1905.

² *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, xxvii. (1904), p. 278.

³ *Portraits contemporains*, t. II, p. 62. Il y revient en 1864 (*Nouveaux Lundis*, t. vi. p. 411).

⁴ Dans *Nos morts contemporains*, 1^{re} série, p. 344.

un ange attiré dans son enfer pour le rafraîchir d'une rosée dérobée au paradis)¹. Quelle est en réalité la nature de ces rapports ou de cette dépendance ?

Pour le premier romantisme, celui de 1820, qui n'avait pas encore fait sa révolution en matière de langue et de style et qui mettait presque tout son effort à créer une sorte de littérature transcendente, le poète du *Paradis et la Péri* n'avait pu manquer d'apparaître comme un auxiliaire précieux. De fait, on le tient en singulière estime, et c'est à peine si W. Scott et Byron font tort à sa renommée. 'On dirait, écrivent les *Annales de la littérature et des arts*², que ces trois génies se sont divisé entre eux toute la création. W. Scott s'est emparé de la terre; lord Byron semble s'être précipité dans les sombres abîmes; le domaine des cieux est échu à Th. Moore. Il semble, en quelque sorte, initier l'homme aux sublimes mystères de la divinité.' C'est à propos des *Amours des Anges* que l'organe attitré de la Société des Bonnes-Lettres procède à cette répartition de l'univers; et ce poème semblait en effet mettre le sceau à la renommée de Moore considéré comme le peintre des régions supérieures. Mais il n'avait pas attendu jusque-là³ pour exercer une influence dont Fontaney, Guttinguer, Gérard de Nerval offrent mainte trace: Berlioz et Th. Gautier à leur tour représenteront, dans la troupe des admirateurs français du poète irlandais, comme un second ban, qui l'aimera pour des qualités différentes⁴.

Alfred de Vigny a dû de très bonne heure être mis au fait de l'œuvre de Moore par son parent Bruguère de Sorsum: celui-ci publia en effet dès 1820, dans le *Lycée français*, un long article sur *Lalla-Rookh*, où il s'attardait surtout à l'ingénieux épisode du *Paradis et la Péri*⁵. On voudrait pouvoir découvrir le nom du jeune poète aristocrate lui-même sous l'initiale V. qui signe un article du *Conservateur littéraire*, en juin 1820, consacré lui aussi à *Lalla Rookh*⁶. L'auteur remarquait que 'le style est ce qui prête le plus à l'éloge et à la critique' dans ce poème, mais il trouvait les défauts 'bien rachetés

¹ *La Dernière Incarnation de Vautrin* [décembre 1847]. Ed. des *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1860, t. xix. p. 19.

² 1823, tome xi. p. 95.

³ Une des premières mentions de Moore semble se trouver dans un article du *Lycée français*, 1819, tome i. p. 131.

⁴ C'est surtout autour de l'*Epicurien* que se rassemblent, après 1827, ces nouvelles admirations.

⁵ *Lycée français*, 1820, t. iii. pp. 319, 363, 409 (à propos de la traduction Pichot).

⁶ *Conservateur littéraire*, 2^e année, livraison xv. p. 180. Sainte-Beuve l'attribue à Hugo, semble-t-il. Selon M. Dupuy (*Jeunesse des Romantiques*, p. 231), le premier article de Vigny dans ce périodique serait celui qu'il consacrait à lord Byron sous cette même rubrique de *Littérature anglaise*, mais en décembre 1820. La *Péri*, 'venant du soleil,' paraît déjà dans *Hélène*.

par la variété des figures, l'éclat du coloris, la grâce ou l'énergie des peintures et cette vérité de teinte locale qui répand, sur les imperfections mêmes, une sorte de charme magique.' Surtout il observait que 'les ouvrages de Th. Moore, qui ont plu généralement, choqueront toutefois le goût de quelques champions du *classique* sans qu'ils puissent motiver leur sévérité. La poésie romantique, par ses formes vagues et indécises, échappe à la critique, semblable à ces hôtes fantastiques de l'Elysée païen, qui frappaient la vue et se dérobaient à la main qui les voulait saisir.' N'était-ce pas définir dans un sens bien conforme à la tendance du premier Cénacle les particularités préférées du poète irlandais ?

Vigny allait subir, à l'égard de Moore, l'effet d'un autre prestige, et l'un de ceux qu'un apprenti de lettres éprouve presque infailliblement. De la fin de 1819 au printemps de 1822, l'ami et le confident de lord Byron, l'hôte favori de l'aristocratie libérale fit à Paris plusieurs séjours dont le jeune lieutenant de la garde royale a été certainement plus qu'informé. Le *Journal* de Moore mentionne¹ un grand nombre de visites, de soirées, de rencontres mondaines qui mettent le poète étranger en présence de Mmes de Flahaut, de Sainte-Aulaire, de Barante, de Dolomieu, et surtout de la duchesse de Broglie, la fille de Mme de Staël, que Moore retrouvait à Paris après l'avoir déjà connue en Angleterre avec sa mère², pendant les derniers mois de l'Empire. On aimerait savoir les noms des convives que Mme de Broglie fit rencontrer à Moore le 19 janvier 1820, et l'on est tenté de s'impatier de la mémoire indifférente, dédaigneuse ou courte de l'illustre étranger, qui note dans son journal : 'Treize personnes outre moi, qui étais le seul Anglais présent. Il y avait là quelques hommes dont on vante le talent, mais je ne me rappelle pas bien leurs noms. Il discutèrent littérature anglaise aussi couramment que s'ils connaissaient rien à l'affaire....' Il est certain, à tout le moins, que Lamartine, qui est en relations avec Mme de Broglie dès 1819³, dont Moore traduit en 1820 quelques vers pour l'*Edinburgh Review*, a été admis à l'honneur d'approcher l'auteur de *Lalla Rookh* chez Mme de Broglie. Et il associe d'une façon si irrésistible ce souvenir à celui de Vigny, qu'il est permis de présumer que son émule en poésie reçut dès cette époque le contre-coup de l'émotion ressentie par les privilégiés qu'invita le duc

¹ *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Th. Moore*, London, 1853, vol. III.

² Il la retrouve chez Mme de Flahaut le 19 décembre 1819.

³ Cf. les *Confidences*, éd. Hachette, livre XI, p. 304. Mme de Broglie parle de Lamartine à son amie Mme Anisson du Perron dans une lettre du 11 avril 1820 (*Lettres*, publiées par son fils, Paris, 1896, p. 42).

de Broglie. Après avoir rappelé¹ qu'il avait été lié avec Vigny 'depuis le jour où il répandit son nom dans le monde,' et avoir indiqué l'inspiration byronienne de *Dolorida*, Lamartine continue: 'Une autre imitation plus étudiée tentait déjà l'âme douce et tendre de Vigny. Thomas Moore, Irlandais d'un grand talent aussi, venait de publier les *Amours des Anges* et *Lalla Rookh*, poèmes indiens (*sic*). Il était alors à Paris, jouissant dans un applaudissement universel de la fleur et de la primeur de son talent. Je le voyais souvent chez Mme la duchesse de Broglie, fille de Mme de Staël, et femme dont la beauté, la vertu, l'enivrement mystique et la piété céleste devaient ravir le poète irlandais et faire croire à la *sœur des anges* que Vigny voulait créer pour type idéal des amours sacrées...'

Moore était-il sensible en effet à la grace séraphique de Madame de Broglie? Son *Journal* ne témoigne, à cet égard, que d'une satisfaction assez vulgaire à la trouver très enthousiaste des *Mélodies irlandaises* (21 mai 1821), à lui dire des vers (3 avril 1821) ou à chanter avec elle (6 décembre 1821), et il ne nous informe pas du sujet des nombreuses 'conversations' notées chemin faisant. En tout cas, le poème *The Loves of the Angels*, écrit sur le continent, paraît peu de temps après le séjour de l'auteur à Paris: il est mis en vente dès janvier 1823². La même année paraissent deux traductions en prose, d'abord celle de Davésiés de Pontès³, ensuite celle de Madame Belloc⁴, que Moore reçoit le 15 juillet 1823, 'avec une lettre fort flatteuse... Mme Belloc dit qu'il y a deux autres personnes occupées à traduire les *Anges* en vers⁵'.

Mme Belloc publiait à la suite de sa traduction celle des *Mélodies irlandaises*: les admirateurs français du poète possédaient ainsi dans un même volume, agrémenté d'un portrait lithographié, une version assez habile de deux œuvres bien propres à plaire au public de cette époque. Vigny savait assez d'anglais dès ce moment pour se passer d'une traduction, et peut-être prit-il connaissance des *Loves of the Angels* avant son départ pour Strasbourg en mars 1823. Mais c'est plutôt, à

¹ *Cours familier de littérature*, t. xvi. Paris, 1863, p. 232. Reproduit dans les *Souvenirs et Portraits*, t. iii. Paris, 1872, p. 146.

² D'après Schultz-Gora, art. cité, p. 278.

³ *Les Amours des Anges*, poème en iii chants, trad. de l'anglais. Paris, Pillet aîné, 1823.

⁴ *Les Amours des Anges et les Mélodies irlandaises* de Thomas Moore, trad. de l'anglais par Mme Louise Sw = Belloc, traducteur des Patriarches. Paris, Chasseriau, 1823.

⁵ Peut-être fait-elle allusion à la traduction Ducrest de Villeneuve, dont un fragment paraît dans l'*Almanach des Muses* de 1827, p. 80. Cf. aussi *Douze mélodies françaises avec accompagnement de piano ou de harpe, paroles imitées de Th. Moore*, par le C^o Auguste de Lagarde. Paris, 1823. Mme A. Tastu traduit à cette époque diverses *Mélodies irlandaises*. Ce n'est qu'en 1829 et 1830 que devaient paraître les traductions en vers des *Amours des Anges* par Aroux et par Moutardier.

mon sens, après son arrivée à Bordeaux à l'automne, et lorsqu'il se remit à travailler ce *Satan* qui l'avait occupé pendant l'été, que Vigny lut et relut le poème de Moore, et cela dans la traduction de Mme Belloc. Cette dernière était en rapports assez intimes avec la famille Gay¹, et Vigny, dont on sait les relations avec Mme Gay et la belle Delphine à cette époque, avait toutes les raisons d'être au courant de ses travaux. Il emprunte à sa traduction des *Mélodies irlandaises* le thème de l'espèce de romance-barcarolle qu'il intitule *le Bateau*². Et pendant le mois où son *Satan*, devenant *Eloa*, 's'étend beaucoup sous ses doigts,' et s'augmente 'd'immenses développements,' comme il l'écrit à V. Hugo le 3 octobre, il a sous la main cette traduction. Lui qui trouvait précisément à cette date que 'Lamartine a manqué son ciel comme tous ceux qui en ont fait,' il avait besoin d'étoffer sa trame et de documenter ses notions du monde angélique.

L'action proprement dite, dans *Eloa*, ne doit pas grand chose à l'œuvre de Moore, et l'on a raison de chercher des précédents de plus haute allure au byronisme latent dans ce poème de la *Sœur des Anges*. M. Schultz-Gora cependant remarque justement que dans le *Paradis et la Péri* c'est, après deux tentatives infructueuses, grâce à l'offrande qu'elle peut faire de la larme d'un criminel repentant, que la Péri exilée du Ciel en retrouve enfin l'accès. D'autre part, quelque parallélisme épisodique ne laisse pas d'apparaître, entre l'ignorante et la pitoyable curiosité de la tendre Eloa et les amours des trois anges masculins de Moore pour des mortelles qu'ils aiment, l'un par sensualité, l'autre par un culte excessif pour les créatures de Dieu, le troisième par pure simplicité de cœur. Le deuxième ange de Moore, comme le Satan de Vigny, fonde sa séduction sur l'inconscient appel des sens :

Moore, p. 43 de la trad. Belloc :

Là, habitaient tant d'innombrables choses qui nourrissent l'ardeur des jeunes cœurs, les désirs vagues, les tendres illusions, les rêves d'amour encore sans objet, les espérances légères et ailées qui obéissent au désir..., et les passions cachées sous des pensées virginales...

Vigny, vers 427 :

Sur l'homme j'ai fondé mon empire de flamme,
Dans les désirs du cœur, dans les rêves de l'âme,
Dans les désirs du corps, attirés mystérieux,
Dans les trésors du sang, dans les regards des yeux.

Le premier ange de Moore, lorsqu'il a goûté au 'breuvage enivrant de la terre,' éprouve un peu des ivresses coupables que se rappelle l'archange déchu de Vigny :

¹ Cf., sur Mme Belloc, les *Souvenirs inédits* de Delécluze, *Revue rétrospective*, 1888, t. II, pp. 22 et 195.

² Ratisbonne la croyait inédite : elle a paru dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* de 1831 et dans l'*Almanach des Muses* de 1832.

Moore, p. 23 :

...remplissant [mon âme égarée] de
vaines illusions, de folles pensées, et de
ce désir du mal qui nous poursuit en
l'absence des rayons du ciel...

Vigny, vers 666 :

Triste amour du péché ! sombres désirs
du mal !
De l'orgueil du savoir gigantesques
pensées !
Comment ai-je connu vos ardeurs in-
sensées ?

En dépit de ces rencontres accessoires que l'analogie de quelques situations ne pouvait manquer d'amener, l'intention et la conduite de l'action offrent chez les deux poètes des divergences capitales sur lesquelles il est inutile d'insister. Mais les *Amours des Anges*, très documentées sur les mystères des mondes célestes et traînant à leur suite, même dans la traduction française, tout un appareil de références, permettaient à Vigny de se renseigner sur maint détail de l'existence angélique ou même de la condition physique des anges.

Moore, p. 30 :

Quoique le jour eût disparu, ses ailes
diaprées étincelaient de mille feux,
qu'animées de l'éclat d'Eden, elles ne
tiraient que d'elles-mêmes...

Vigny, vers 631 :

Et comme, tout nourris de l'essence
première,
Les anges ont au cœur des sources de
lumière,
Tandis qu'elle parlait, ses ailes à l'en-
tour,
Et son sein et son bras répandirent le
jour.

Une autre irradiation éblouissante—traditionnelle, celle-ci—est celle qui émane de Dieu, et que les anges eux-mêmes ne peuvent supporter.

Moore, p. 75 :

Souvent, quand du front du Très-
Haut s'échappait un éclair trop vif pour
le supporter, et que tous les Séraphins
se voilaient le visage de leurs ailes, et
n'osaient en contempler l'éclat...

Vigny, vers 636 :

L'archange s'en effraie, et sous ses
cheveux sombres
Cherche un épais refuge à ses yeux
éblouis ;
Il pense qu'à la fin des temps évanouis
Il lui faudra de même envisager son
maître,
Et qu'un regard de Dieu le brisera
peut-être...

Ou, avec une image qui s'imposait à propos de splendeurs insoutenables,

Moore, p. 62 :

...apprendre à supporter cet éclat,
comme les jeunes aigles supportent celui
du soleil...

Vigny, vers 651 :

[l'aigle des Asturies]
Regarde son soleil, d'un bec ouvert
l'aspire...

L'émoi et le scandale seraient les mêmes, dans ces deux paradis, si l'on y évoquait le souvenir de l'Archange révolté :

Moore, p. 18 :

...ce feu dévorant qu'on ne nomme point aux cieux.

Vigny, vers 124 :

Nul ange n'oserait vous conter son histoire,
Nul ange n'oserait dire une fois son nom.

Semblable à la mortelle qu'aime le premier ange de Moore, Eloa n'éprouve cependant que de la tristesse, et point de colère, à connaître les crimes du réprouvé :

Moore, p. 20 :

Ce n'était point l'expression de la colère. Non...elle n'était pas irritée, mais triste. C'était un douleur aussi calme que profonde, un deuil qui ne permet point de larmes, tant l'amertume qui remplit le cœur s'y fixe et s'y glace.

Vigny, vers 126 :

Et l'on crut qu'Eloa le maudirait ; mais non,
L'effroi n'altéra point son paisible visage...
La tristesse apparut sur sa lèvre glacée
Aussitôt qu'un malheur s'offrit à sa pensée...

Sur les fonctions 'cosmiques' des phalanges célestes, Moore fournissait des renseignements que ni Milton ni Chateaubriand ne donnaient aussi nettement, et qu'il savait appuyer de références dans ses notes.

Moore, p. 14 :

...créatures de lumière...qui, à chaque instant de la nuit et du jour, transmettent, à travers leurs innombrables légions, l'écho de sa parole lumineuse.

Vigny, vers 108 :

On le nommait celui qui porte la lumière ;
Car il portait l'amour et la vie en tout lieu,
Aux astres il portait tous les ordres de Dieu.

id., p. 19 :

...pourquoi mon destin ne m'a-t-il pas fait naître esprit de cette belle étoile, habitant sa brillante sphère, pure et isolée comme tous ces êtres rayonnants...

id., vers 95 :

Quel globe attend ses pas ? quel siècle la demande ?

et vers 193 :

et p. 27 :

Ce fut vers cette étoile lointaine que je la vis diriger son vol à travers l'espace lumineux, vers cette île étincelante au milieu du firmament bleuâtre...

...leur timide compagne
Etend l'aile et sourit, s'envole, et dans les airs
Cherche sa terre amie ou des astres déserts...

Dans le même ordre d'idées, il convient de remarquer que le second 'mystère' de Vigny, le *Déluge* qu'il écrivit cette même année 1823, conserve à l'égard des *Amours des Anges* une dépendance qui

mérite d'être notée, même à côté de celle qui le rattache au *Ciel et Terre* de Byron. Le renvoi au 6^e livre de la Genèse, qui parle des amours des anges pour les filles des hommes, se retrouvait dans la *Préface* de Moore. Emmanuel pourrait être le fils d'un des coupables amants dont il avait raconté les amours; et une certaine analogie de mise en scène paraît dans le début des deux poèmes :

Moore, p. 13 :

Le monde était dans sa fleur ; les étoiles brillantes venaient de commencer leur course radieuse... La terre était alors plus près du ciel que dans ces jours de crime et de désolation, etc.

Vigny, vers 1 du *Déluge* :

La terre était riante et dans sa fleur première...
Rien n'avait dans sa forme altéré la nature,
Et des monts réguliers l'immense architecture
S'élevait jusqu'aux cieux par ses degrés égaux...

C'est dans ce qu'on pourrait appeler la tonalité du décor et des accessoires que Vigny témoigne surtout qu'il a beaucoup retenu de sa lecture de Moore. De fait, il y avait là, pour un poète qui avait à dépeindre ou à suggérer les détails d'un monde transcendant, une documentation précieuse. Les 'mystères' de lord Byron, sous leur forme dramatique, n'offraient pas beaucoup de ressources à cet égard. Et il faut bien reconnaître que l'Empyrée somptueux et hiérarchique de Milton, le vaste Ciel d'oratorio évoqué par Klopstock, avaient moins chance de réveiller, chez le Vigny de 1823, des émulations fécondes que le coloris brillant—et souvent brillanté—que Moore avait donné à ses descriptions paradisiaques. On a souvent remarqué avec quelle peine Vigny s'est défait d'une certaine prédilection pour l'afféterie et la fausse élégance dans l'expression : l'ingéniosité maniérée, mais gracieuse, du barde irlandais était bien propre à satisfaire ces affinités-là, d'autant plus qu'elle correspondait à merveille aux tendances d'une époque qui n'avait pas encore rénové en matière de langue poétique et qui cherchait assez péniblement une terminologie propre à exprimer ses rêves et ses imaginations d'au-delà. 'Le vague, disait la *Préface du traducteur* des *Amours des Anges*, qui fait un des charmes de sa poésie, serait à peine toléré dans notre prose. On a beau planer dans la région des fantômes et des nuages, il faut pour nous que chaque être ait un corps et chaque objet un nom. En exprimant une pensée, Moore en éveille mille ; il dessine une image, et il en fait apparaître une foule dans le lointain. Il laisse au lecteur le soin de les deviner et d'achever ses tableaux.' C'est bien ainsi que se posait la question de l'image ou de l'épithète suggestive pour cette peinture du monde céleste qu'entreprenait

Alfred de Vigny ; par là, bien plus que pour la conception ou l'agencement du poème, la *Sœur des Anges* est tributaire des *Amours des Anges* : et si les emprunts ou les réminiscences se réduisent à des touches de couleur, il n'en reste pas moins que la tonalité générale du tableau s'en trouve déterminée. Grâce à une qualité bien plus haute d'esprit et d'âme, grâce à d'autres modèles infiniment plus forts, Vigny rehausse souvent d'un ton plus ferme, accentue d'un trait mieux cerné un détail qui a son analogue chez Moore ; et il suffit de juxtaposer des exemples comme ceux-ci pour faire valoir l'avantage d'*Eloa* :

Moore, p. 34 :

Dès l'instant où je fus appelé avec les
chérubins pour assister au premier réveil
printanier de la nature dans ces sphères
florissantes, ces fleurs lumineuses qui
jaillirent au premier souffle de l'Eternel...

id., p. 36 :

...de nouveaux mondes, brillants de
jeunesse et de fraîcheur, semblaient
s'élancer du sein des ténèbres...

...Celui qui venait de parcourir cette
vaste étendue où étincellent des mondes
entassés...

Vigny, vers 153 :

Et soit lorsque Dieu même, appelant
les esprits,
Dévoilait sa grandeur à leurs regards
surpris,
Et montrait dans les cieux, foyer de la
naissance,
Les profondeurs sans nom de sa triple
puissance...

vers 88 :

Et des fleurs qu'au Ciel seul fit germer
la nature...

id., vers 763 :

Des anges au Chaos allaient puiser des
mondes.
Passant avec terreur dans ses plaines
profondes...

Mais ailleurs, le poète d'*Eloa* s'en tient à la qualité même de la description ou de l'évocation tentée par Moore. La lumière d'Eden, chez l'un et chez l'autre, est plutôt azurée ou nacrée que franchement éclatante ; une certaine mollesse asiatique semble s'insinuer dans leur imagination, et l'on est loin, au milieu des fleurs, des fontaines au sable vermeil, des météores indistincts et des arcs-en-ciel flottants de ces paradis en demi-teintes, du Ciel puritain de Milton et du Ciel évangélique de Klopstock. Comment les anges n'y prendraient-ils pas le goût de voluptés moins célestes ? Une sorte de suave frivolité n'en est point bannie.

Moore, p. 38 :

J'avais vu naître la première femme,
Eve... J'avais vu les anges les plus purs
s'incliner au-dessus d'elle en l'adorant.

Vigny, vers 80 :

Et tous les Anges purs, et tous les
grands Archanges
.....
Abaisèrent leur front jusqu'à ses pieds
de neige...

Les comètes et les météores, dans ce firmament peu rigide, semblent presque l'emporter sur les étoiles fixes :

Moore, p. 36 :

...je suivais quelque comète voyageuse
se dirigeant au loin vers des points
lumineux.

Vigny, vers 308 :

Chaque étoile semblait poursuivre un
météore ;
Et l'ange en souriant au spectacle
étranger,
Suivait des yeux leur vol circulaire et
léger.

id., p. 72 :

Elle s'était évanouie, comme un
météore qui luit tout-à-coup sur nos
têtes, et qui s'enfuit au moment où l'on
crie : 'Voyez, voyez !...'

id., vers 57 :

Comme on voit la comète errante dans
les cieux
Fondre au sein de la nuit ses rayons
glorieux.

Les deux poètes se servent de la même expression pour désigner le mouvement des astres entraînés dans le mouvement de l'univers :

Moore, p. 35 :

...les astres,...roulant au milieu de
l'espace comme des chars vivants de
lumière¹...

Vigny, vers 144 :

Chars vivants dont les yeux ont d'écla-
tants prestiges !

Même analogie dans quelques-uns des jeux auxquels les anges se livrent avec les astres :

Moore, p. 35 :

...je parcourais soir et matin les lignes
radieuses qui s'étendent comme des
réseaux d'or entre les étoiles et le soleil,
déliant tous ces rayons de lumière...

Vigny, vers 577 :

Du char des astres purs j'obscurcis les
essieux,
Je voilai leurs rayons pour attirer tes
yeux...

Sur terre, ou à la surface du chaos, rôdent des feux follets semblables :

Moore, p. 23 :

...les feux livides qui rampent à la
surface de la terre dès que le jour a
disparu.

Vigny, vers 305 (cf. vers 471) :

Mais elle y vit bientôt des feux errants
et bleus
Tels que des froids marais les éclairs
onduleux.

¹ M. Schultz-Gora, art. cité, p. 283, rapporte les 'chars vivants' de Vigny à des passages miltoniens fort peu convaincants. C'est le lieu de signaler quelques *errata* qu'appelle son travail. L'influence de *Heaven and Earth* sur le *Déluge* de Vigny avait été indiquée expressément par M. E. Dupuy, art. cité, p. 406 (dans la *Jeunesse des Romantiques*, p. 353) ; M. Schultz-Gora (p. 281) a lu pensée *régénératrice* où M. Dupuy avait écrit pensée *généralice*, ce qui change sensiblement la thèse ; lire (p. 283) VI au lieu de V pour la seconde indication du *Paradis perdu*.

Nous voici dans une partie de la création plus accessible et mieux connue ; nombre de détails qui lui sont attribués se retrouvent chez les deux poètes. La musique sur la mer :

Moore, p. 76 :

Ce fut pendant le crépuscule du soir,
sur le rivage de la mer tranquille, qu'il
entendit pour la première fois les sons
du luth et la voix de celle qu'il aimait
glisser sur les eaux argentées...

La jeune épouse :

Moore, p. 19 :

...comme la jeune épouse qui se
penche sur le bord du lit nuptial...

Le ver luisant :

Moore, p. 62 :

La lumière que le ver luisant suspend
la nuit aux branches des arbres...

Les amours des fleurs :

Moore, p. 63 :

...la rose, confiante et sans tache, qui
a reçu toute la nuit les baisers de la
mouche de feu ?

Le serpent-oiseleur :

Moore, p. 14 :

...semblable à l'oiseau qui abandonne
son nid élevé, fasciné par des yeux
séducteurs...

Les diamants dans l'obscurité :

Moore, p. 51 :

...les diamants, semblables à des yeux
qui brillent au milieu des ténèbres,
furent surpris dans leur retraite ob-
scure...

Vigny, vers 615 :

Et la mer quand ses flots apportent
sur la grève
Les chants du soir aux pieds du
voyageur qui rêve...

Vigny, vers 52 :

Elle marche vers Dieu comme une
épouse au temple...

Vigny, vers 469 :

Le vermisseau reluit ; son front de
diamant
Répète auprès des fleurs les feux du
firmament...

Vigny, vers 436 :

Comme le papillon, sur ses ailes pou-
dreuses,
Porte aux gazons émus des peuplades
de fleurs
Et leur fait des amours sans périls et
sans pleurs.

Vigny, vers 214 :

Les serpents-oiseleurs qu'elles pourraient
cacher.

et vers 423 :

Sous l'éclair d'un regard sa force fut
brisée ;
Et dès qu'il vit ployer son aile maî-
trisée,
L'ennemi séducteur¹...

Vigny, vers 635 :

Ainsi le diamant luit au milieu des
ombres.
L'archange s'en effraie, et sous ses
cheveux sombres
Cherche un épais refuge à ses yeux
éblouis...

¹ Il faut noter que le passage d'*Atala* qui—la remarque en a été souvent faite—a fourni la plupart de ses détails à l'épisode du colibri des Florides, mentionne le serpent-oiseleur sans le montrer dans l'exercice de son pouvoir de fascination.

La jeune étoile—cette épithète de *jeune* est assez particulière :

Moore, p. 48 :

Les nuages d'automne qui retiennent
les éclairs prêts à s'échapper de leurs
flancs, pour laisser briller une jeune
étoile.

Vigny, vers 555 :

Toi seule m'apparus comme une jeune
étoile
Qui de la vaste nuit perce à l'écart le
voile.

(Cf. deux 'jeunes planètes' au vers 223.)

Un autre détail est un souvenir du *Paradis et la Péri* :

Moore, vers 167 :

Ces lis vierges qui baignent toute la
nuit leur beauté dans le lac...

Vigny, vers 605 :

Son bras, comme un lis blanc sur le lac
suspendu...

Il serait possible de continuer ces rapprochements. Quelques détails d'un orientalisme assez choquant dans *Eloa*—les 'Divans où dort la molle Asie' et toute cette attitude de jeune satrape de l'ange déchu (vers 353 et suivante), la blanche tour d'Alep et sa sultane imprévue (v. 420)—ont peut-être leur origine dans l'exotisme de *Lalla-Rookh*, moins éclatant et plus insinuant que celui de Byron. Vigny, qui a toujours eu, pour les effets de lumière contrariée et d'ombre transparente, une prédilection dont témoignent presque tous les tableaux lumineux de son œuvre, trouvait un coloriste à sa guise dans le poète des *Amours des Anges* : Moore ne pousse-t-il pas le raffinement jusqu'à ébaucher 'l'arc-en-ciel formé par la lune' ! C'est par là, par cette délicatesse maniérée dans le coloris, qu'il a dû séduire le jeune officier à la pensée si grave qui devait conserver longtemps encore, malgré toutes les hardiesses de sa méditation, le goût un peu mièvre du 'joli' et de l'ingénieux dans l'expression.

FERNAND BALDENSPERGER.

DANTE IN RELATION TO THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF HIS AGE.

II.

THE RACE FOR THE 'PALIO.'

OF all Italian sports in and after Dante's age the most universal and characteristic was the racing for the *palio*. This was a long strip, or sometimes two strips laced together, of valuable cloth, silk or rich brocade, resembling in shape the banners now used at school feasts and in the processions of benefit societies. The chief uses of these banners were two, and it will be seen that they had some connection. Firstly, they were carried in procession and presented annually to a ruling city on the great municipal festival by subject communes or noble feudatories as a recognition of her sovereignty. Thereafter they were hung in the principal church. Thus at Florence S. Giovanni's was hung round with *palii*. Secondly, they were suspended on poles and hoisted at the winning-post of race-courses as the first prize. Hence the *palio* came to mean the race itself, much as we use the phrases Ascot Cup or Middle Park Plate. To give an example. Just as the War of the League of Cambray was breaking out, young Luigi da Porto wrote from Vicenza to his uncle in the Friuli, 'If I don't send my Barbary horse to run the *palio* at Udine this St George's day, it is because I think that throughout all the Venetian territory there is bound to be something else to do this year than running the usual *palii*.' So universal were these two practices that the manufacture of *palii* was quite an important industry, *e.g.* at Venice, and the prices paid for the race prizes were, even according to the earlier statutes, very high, and then continually rose. Thus the *palio* of Piacenza, which in 1372 was won by Bernabò Visconti's horse, had for three years past cost 112 gold ducats, whereas in *temporibus retroactis* the value was 15 (*Chron. Plac. Agazzari*, p. 50).

In the second half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth the chief race meetings were events as fashionable as they were in England in the nineteenth. Horses were sent from all over Italy, and no prince's or great nobleman's establishment was complete without its stud. There were professional training stables kept sometimes by the lesser members of well-known families. The companion of Pico della Mirandola's voluntary or involuntary elopement was the wife of a Medici, a horse-trainer at Arezzo, which no doubt accounted for the skill with which she leapt on the croup of the attractive philosopher's horse. We know for certain that immediately after Dante's death to win the *palio* was the ambition of the most prominent bloods of Lombardy. That of Milan was carried off in 1339 by Bruzio Visconti, podestà of Lodi, the handsome gallant bastard of Luchino Visconti, and it cost 40 gold florins—at least £160 in modern values. Twice afterwards the same prize fell to him, and his stable was equally successful at other meetings.

I have found notices of these races throughout Northern and Central Italy, from Vercelli to Udine, from Milan to Rome. Nevertheless their origin is totally obscure. Muratori (*Dissertation*, XXIX.) could not trace it beyond the thirteenth century. Yet it is improbable that it then had a mushroom growth all over Italy. The absence of earlier mention may be accounted for by the balder and more formal character of the chronicles, and more particularly by the absence of codified statutes, our best authority, for which the classical age is the latter part of the century. The earliest notice is, I believe, that recently quoted in Mr Heywood's *Palio and Ponte* from the *Libri de' pretori* of Siena, when in 1238, the loser of the race—*colui che perde* in Dante's phrase—was heavily fined for refusing to carry his consolation prize publicly into the city. This chance notice carries back this curious custom, to which I shall again refer hereafter, quite as a matter of course beyond any mention of the *palio* in chronicle or statute. Not far behind, however, are the Statutes of Bologna of 1250, which provide for a change in the course for the *palio* of S. Pietro, the existing one being too short and inconvenient (*Statuti del Comune di Bologna*, ed. Frati, II. 128). Very old also was the *palio* of S. Bartholomew at Bologna, which is said to have originated in 1249, and of which there is documentary evidence in 1269 (*ibid.* 29).

It is possible that the races were introduced from the East or from Africa during the Crusading period, but I can find no evidence for this. The horses certainly seem to have had Arab blood. The term *Barberi*

is said in Della Crusca to have been confined exclusively to horses run for the *palio*. This is the word used in Da Porto's letter already quoted, while the large pictures of the Duke of Ferrara's horses in the Schifanoia Palace supply evidence of half a century earlier.

The older races were invariably connected with a religious festival, and were often named after the patron saint of the city, *e.g.* after S. Eusebius at Vercelli, after S. Syrus at Pavia, and yet another race after S. Petronius at Bologna. S. Mary of August was, however, the most usual public holiday. To the present day the horses are blest and sprinkled with holy water in Church before the race, for which ceremony there is a special office with prayers for their preservation from all harm. Mr Heywood believes this practice at Siena to be not earlier than the eighteenth century, but its alleged existence in small Tuscan townlets, where life is extremely conservative, may point to longer custom. The races were not only an essential feature of a religious but of a patriotic festival, for they were usually founded in honour of a national deliverance or victory. Thus at Padua the race celebrated the death of Eccelino da Romano. The Florentine legend is as instructive as it is false—that the *palio* and the Church of S. Reparata were both founded in honour of Stilicho's victory over the Goths. The *palio* of S. Barnabas did actually commemorate Campaldino, that of S. Anne the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, that of S. Victor a defeat of the Pisans in 1364. The Sienese honoured the exorcism of demons by S. Ambrogio Sansedoni, and similarly the overthrow of the faction of the Twelve and the Milanese protectorate after Gian Galeazzo Visconti's death. The defeat of Bernabò Visconti at S. Ruffillo in 1361 was the excuse for yet another meeting at Bologna, for which the prize was a *palio* of striped velvet with the Saint's picture on the pennon which sometimes surmounts the banner (L. Frati, *Vita privata di Bologna*, p. 151). Connected with these sporting displays of patriotism or party-feeling was the custom of running the *palio* outside an enemy's town when its troops had been driven within the walls. At the same time it was usual to coin gold money. This latter was a symbol of sovereignty, and it is possible that the *palio* was also regarded as a proof of occupation. An interesting early statute at Parma orders that if the Podestà should be away with the army on the stated day for the national *palio*, it should be run wherever he, the representative of the state, and the army, that is the nation in arms, should chance to be. This, no doubt, was also the meaning of the *palio* run by the Florentines outside Arezzo on S. Giovanni's day in 1289, which is often erro-

neously described as the origin of the race. But in Italy jest and earnest go in pairs, and in this practice there was an element of jibe, as when at Arezzo in 1335 the Perugians gave a *palio* for a prostitutes' race. Earlier than this, in 1325, the Florentines had suffered a similar insult from Castruccio Castracane, who on S. Francis's day gave three *palii* for horses, men, and prostitutes outside the city from the Ponte alle Mosse to Peretola (Villani, ix.). Yet, as will be seen hereafter, this was merely the extension of not uncommon domestic customs to the national army in the field. These very Atalantas of the camp were no novices on the track: they had received their training on the recreation grounds or through the streets of their native cities. Regarded, however, merely as a jibe, these patriotic indiscretions would fall into line with the hanging of asses with the names of the enemy's most eminent citizens round their necks: at Arezzo, indeed, on another occasion, the poor donkey's head was crowned with the mitre of the fighting bishop of the city. Also in 1325 the two aspects of this custom, the patriotic and the opprobrious, are illustrated at Bologna, which was besieged by the Cremonese, Mantuans, and Modenese: each state ran its *palio* 'ad æternam memoriam præmissorum, et ipsorum Bononensium scandalum et opprobrium.' Sercambi of Lucca has an interesting passage in this connection. The Florentines in 1357 were besieging Pisa, of which Lucca was a somewhat forced ally. They ran three *palii* outside the city, and this is the chronicler's comment:—'The Commune of Lucca in its power ordained the running of these three *palii* in sign of victory. And therefore the Commune of Florence ought not to wish by way of scorn to have these races run which the Commune of Lucca annually held by way of exaltation. And in this Florence showed little love towards Lucca' (Sercambi, i. 116). Sercambi gives us probably the first two pictures of this opprobrious racing—one of the Pisans outside Florence (i. 122), the other of the Florentines outside Pisa (i. 125). The horses are seen racing towards the *palio*, which is held aloft on a staff at the goal.

The banner which formed the first prize for these races was always of some shade of red, so that *correre il scarleto* was almost as common a phrase as *correre il palio*. This, for instance, occurs in the thirteenth century Paduan Statute, and so too at Parma in 1324 the reconciliation of the factions of Rossi and Corrigeschi took place on the race-course, 'quando currebatur scarlattus extra portam Novam de mense Augusti in festo beatæ Mariæ.' Sometimes the prize was fortified by a more material gift, as at Ferrara and Bologna by a horse. The second and

third prizes gave more scope for imagination: they included hawks, hounds, pairs of gloves or spurs, cocks with or without cages, sucking pigs, hams, owls, and not uncommonly geese with a sympathetic bunch of garlic, suggestive of their coming fate. The winner of the last prize was something of a butt, though in the thirteenth century statutes, *e.g.* at Verona and Padua, precautions were taken that the horses must be thoroughly sound and of considerable value. The *colui che perde* was often required, as has been seen at Siena; to carry his trophy attached to his horse into the city.

It has been hinted that not only horses raced. At Pisa boat-racing was in vogue as early as the thirteenth century, and the head of the river received an ox with scarlet housings. The thoroughly Dantesque date, 1300, marks the first notice of the far-famed Venetian regattas. There were also races in several towns for men, women, donkeys, and Jews, the latter at all events in Rome under the patronage of Paul II., while in 1490 Jews ran from the Campo de' Fiori to the Piazza of S. Peter, where the winning Hebrew received a red cloth *palio* in the gracious presence of Alexander VI.—himself dubbed Marano. Races for men are mentioned at Ferrara, Verona, Brescia, Pisa, and Lucca, and were probably universal. Those of women and donkeys added a coarse, comic zest, thoroughly Italian, to the solemn religious patriotic festivals. Yet they were not uncriticised. At Brescia, time after time, the authorities, especially in periods of religious revival, strove to suppress the women's races as demoralising and irreverent, but they were what the lower classes really cared for, and conservative or argumentative people urged that it was a good means of distinguishing disreputable from reputable womankind. At Brescia, it may just be noticed that the prize for the horse-race was of scarlet of England, that for men of *drappo verde*, and that for girls of blue: at Ferrara the *panno verde* was the prize for boys. The donkeys must be content with linen or canvas *palii*. The very curious fresco in the Schifanoia Palace shows horses, mares, donkeys, men and women all racing one behind the other, while Borso d' Este and his Court look on. Donkey-riders, then as now, sat on the nethermost end of their mounts.

The best early account of races perhaps occurs in the *De laudibus Paviæ*, written about 1330, but describing customs of long standing. On the feast of the Translation of S. Syrus the horses ran very early in the morning on a long course outside the city for a silken or gold-embroidered *palio*, a roast sucking pig and a live white cock. After lunch, varlets and women ran in another place for salt and fresh meat.

The writer gives the only account with which I am acquainted of the ultimate destination of the *palio*. The winner offered it to S. Syrus, or any other Church, or did what he liked with it.

If Paul II. enjoyed the races down the Corso at Rome, his predecessor, Pius II., encouraged them in his little native hill-town of Corsignano, and has left a most graphic description in his *Commentaries* (Book IX. p. 433, ed. of 1584). The people here had always held races on S. Matthias's Day, but the ceremony of the opening of Pius II.'s new Cathedral and the surrounding group of buildings, domestic and municipal, was celebrated with unusual splendour at his expense. A fair was held in booths outside the town, whole oxen straight from the plough were roasted, and then towards evening came the races. The horses were assigned their stations, the signal given for the start, but 'inequality of speed and an uncontested victory rendered the spectacle somewhat poor,' the horse of one Alexander leaving the field nowhere. The donkeys, however, made amends by their spirited competition, for under the stimulus of a shower of blows first one and then the other forged ahead. So also the races for men and boys on the chalky soil greased by rain caused much excitement and amusement, for none could keep their feet, the last frequently became first, and the naked runners coated with mud became unrecognisable by their backers. The feature of the meeting was the race for small boys who ran round the course to the city gate, sticking and stumbling, losing their wind and getting up again, while their parents and brothers shouted exhortations. Victory wavered between several to the very last. The success of young Piensis was deservedly popular: he was carried shoulder-high to his home to the great delight of all his quarter. If Dante had only been as human as Æneas Sylvius, how much more social history his admirers would have known!

The first actual description of the *palio* in verse belongs to the early years of the quattrocento: the poem gives an elaborate account of the festival of S. Giovanni. The unknown poet celebrates the *carroccio* drawn by horses draped in red and white, with the *marzocco* at each corner—and then he writes:

Nel mezzo al carro è fitto un alto stile,
 Dov' è il palio gentile
 E tutto steso, di color vermiglio,
 E 'n su la cima d' oro è posto un giglio...
 I corsier senza resta
 Furon condotti poi a ventun' ora,
 Che, per giungere ad ora,

Qual grida, quale isferza, qual vien meno
 A qual si rompe il freno.
 Pure alla fin l' ebbe quel di Ferrara
 Trascorrendo ciascun per forza e gara.

E. LEVI, *Lirica italiana*, p. 46.

This poem provides one proof among several that in the earlier races the horses were ridden, as now at Siena, by jockeys, *raggazzini* as they were called in the fourteenth century. In later days riderless races were far more common. Those at Rome down the Corso, which men still living may remember, are said to have been originated by Paul II., by whose palace, the Palazzo Venezia, was the goal. But the drawings of Sercambi of the fourteenth century, the frescos of the Schifanoia Palace, and an illumination of Basinio Parmense's Argonauts, 1454 (engraved in Yriarte's *Rimini*), show jockeys riding their horses bare-backed. In the latter they are seen racing through the town gate towards the front of Sigismund Malatesta's *Tempio*.

Here then, setting aside the races for women and donkeys, we have a more or less dignified form of sport, which in each city was the great event of the year, which was instituted in honour of some notable victory, paid for by government, and associated with the name of the chief civic saints. A custom so universal, combining elements of religion, of national pride and scorn, could scarcely pass wholly unnoticed by Dante, if he were really to tell the story of his age. Year by year, he must have seen these races in Florence or without. He does, indeed, make no less than four distinct references to the *palio*. In a previous paper I called attention to Dante's apparent lack of interest in the horse. It is noticeable that in none of these four passages does he directly refer to horses as being engaged in the races, while three bear exclusively on the far less important foot-races. The first and slightest reference is in *Convito*, iv. 22, where in quoting *Corinthians* i. 9, he translates *Qui in stadio currunt* by *Che corrono al palio*. This is important so far as showing that the very idea of a race was by Dante's time inseparably connected with the *palio*. Otherwise the passage is disappointing, because in enlarging on his text he describes, not the competition of runners upon a single track, but the competition of tracks, only one of which leads to the right goal. The use of the simile is, it must be confessed, singularly clumsy and inept.

More apposite to our purpose is the passage in *De Monarchia*, ii. §§ 8—9, where Dante speaks of different nations either fighting or racing for the prize of Empire: of the latter contest he writes—'sicut fit per pugnam athletorum currentium ad bravium,' which Ficino

translates 'come avviene a quelli atleti che corrono al palio.' *Bravium* and *pallium* were, indeed, employed as synonyms, *e.g.* in the Statutes of Vercelli, 'Ordinatum est quod unum palium sive bravium sufficiens et idoneum et omnia alia pertinentia dicto palio ementur per comune Vercellarum.' Then after referring to the race of Atalanta in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, x., Dante quotes Cicero, *De Officiis*, 'Qui stadium currit eniti et contendere debet, quam maxime possit ut vincat: supplantare eum, quicum certet, nullo modo debet'—translated by Ficino, 'Chi corre al palio deve sforzarsi quanto più può di vincere, ma dare gambetto a colui che con lui combatte non debbe.' This absence of fouling is here stated as the essential distinction between fighting and racing. The modern race for the *palio* at Siena is one continuous foul, and a foretaste of the practice is found in the more comic races even in the fourteenth century. But in purer times and more serious racing it is sternly forbidden by the statutes of several cities, for instance that of Florence on the *palio* of S. Reparata, 'et nullus cursorum ipsos seu eorum equos, nec ipsi cursores inter se impedire debeant,' and a similar statute applies to the race on S. Barnabas's day.

We now come to the two references to racing which have a distinct local interest. In *Paradiso*, xvi. 40, Cacciaguida says:—

Gli antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco
Dove si trova pria l'ultimo sesto
Da quel che corre il vostro annual gioco.

'My ancestors and I were born in the place where the last of the six districts is first reached by him who runs in your annual sport.' This site is known to have been near the junction of the Mercato Vecchio and the Corso, probably the angle of the Via Speziali and the Via Calzaoli. Here Dante gives a real piece of information, for the Statute only prescribes the course through the Borgo Ognissanti and the Via della Vigna:—'Palium sive bravium prædictum curratur...per burgum Omnium Sanctorum et per viam della Vigna et alicunde non.' Dante therefore marks it a stage farther on, on the further side, that is, of the Mercato Vecchio, on the way towards the Corso and the Porta S. Piero which was the goal, for the anonymous poem already quoted states definitely that the race was run from the Prato on the west to this gate.

And now at last we reach the most distinct of all Dante's allusions to sport:—

Poi si rivolse, e parve di coloro
Che corrono a Verona 'l drappo verde
Per la campagna; e parve di costoro
Quegli che vince, e non colui che perde. *Inf.* xv. 121.

In this case the Florentine poet and the Veronese Statutes supplement each other. Most fortunately the statute, the celebrated Albertina, compiled between 1271 and 1278, under the provisions of which the Veronese races were run in Dante's time, still exists, as does the next issue of Can Grande in 1323. It seems worth while to quote the text as bearing so directly upon Dante's lines and the sport from which he draws his graphic illustration¹:—

Ad honorem dei patris omnipotentis filii et spiritus sancti et gloriosæ beatæ Virginis Mariæ et beati Zenonis cujus patrocinio gaudemus et ad honorem et letitiam et bonum statum partis regentis Veronam quæ est commune Veronæ et erit in seculorum secula Deo dante statuimus et ordinamus quod potestas communis Verone teneatur quolibet anno in die dominica tocius populi ponere seu poni facere pro communi Veronæ duo bravia in loco ubi utilius ei videbitur. Ad unum quorum curratur equester ad alterum curratur pedester et illud ad quod current ad equum sit unum palium et una baffa de qua licitum sit cuilibet accipere et prius currenti detur palium et ultimo currenti detur baffa de qua licitum sit cuilibet incidere et tollere postquam currrens habuerit ad collum equi ligatam. Aliud vero ad quod curratur ad pedes sit unum palium et unus gallus quæ palam portare debeat usque in civitatem. Ad quæ bravia non debeat aliquis currere cum aliqua equa nec etiam cum aliquo equo quod (*sic*) non sit integer omnibus suis membris et potestas habeat liberum arbitrium in ordinatione bannorum ponendorum circa constitutionem et ordinationem dicti ludi et leticiæ in his quæ videretur (*sic*) utilia circa ea et in puniendo quemlibet facientem contra ea quæ per potestatem in predictis et circa predicta fuerint ordinata non obstante aliquo statuto generali vel speciali in contrarium loquenti quæ omnia præsentī statuto sint penitus abrogata. Et potestas teneatur exclamari facere per civitatem et burgos uno mense ante predictum terminum quod quilibet volens currere ad dicta bravia seu curri facere debeat se parari ad predicta.

In this statute it is noticeable that nothing is said of the colour of either of the *palii*, which is unusual: nor is there any hint as to a definite race-course, for this is left to the pleasure of the Podestà. The former deficiency is supplied by the next statute, that of Can Grande in 1323, for after the words *duo bravia* is the addition *unum de scarleto et aliud de panno viridi*. Here then is Dante's *drappo verde*, which by a few years anticipates the information given in the statutes. His lines also help to settle a long controversy as to the customary course. The races in later days were unquestionably run through the streets of Verona, and it has been argued that this was the immemorial course, and in accordance with the usual practice at other cities. It is certain, however, that at Siena the race through the city was later, and that at Parma and Pavia the statutable course was a stadium outside the town. The two statutes of Verona imply that the course was external, for the loser, *colui che perde*, had to carry his consolation prize *usque in civi-*

¹ Since copying the statute from the ms. of the Albertina at Verona I have found that this, together with the Statutes of Can Grande and Gian Galeazzo Visconti relating to the *palio*, were printed by Gaetano da Re, *I tre primi Statuti sulle corse de' Palii di Verona*, in the now defunct *Rivista critica della letteratura italiana*, vii. 80—87.

tatem. Dante clinches the matter by definitely stating that the foot-race at all events was run *in campo*, the meadows outside the city. In these respects then, and in his precise notice of a point in the Florentine race-course, Dante has actually contributed to our knowledge of contemporary sport. Apart from this we should know as much had he never put pen to paper. Is it possible to account for our disappointment, for his almost complete silence on the pastimes of his countrymen, when on all else he was so eloquent? It may be due in part to his character, *schifo e disdegnoso a guisa di mal filosofo*, as Villani complained (ix. ch. 136). He had little sympathy with the pleasures of his fellow-gentry, less with those of the vulgar. His mind was too serious for sport, too indignant for amusement. But this is not nearly all. Such amusements were too quotidian to find mention in graver writers, and even in those of lighter vein they only intrude by accident. It may be suggested moreover that in the literature of most ages there is a gap in narrative poetry, that the taste for narrative is either early or comparatively late, and it is of course narrative that offers the best opportunity for the setting out of prominent customs. In such a gap Dante wrote, for in spite of appearance he is not really narrative, and, when the taste for narrative revived, he retired for the nonce to limbo. After all in modern England football absorbs more of the thought of the lower classes and golf of the higher than any one other subject grave or gay. Yet they will leave little mark upon our literature, save for an obscure line of Mr Rudyard Kipling's. Our inquisitive successors will be as much at fault as to our amusements, as we find ourselves when we ransack Dante. He tells us little of sport in his poetry or prose, mainly because the poets and prose-writers of all ages rarely tell posterity what at the moment it wants to know.

E. ARMSTRONG.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF SHAKESPEARE ON THE CONTINENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE question of continental interest in Shakespeare during the period immediately preceding the publication of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, was discussed, for Germany, by R. Genée in his valuable *Shakespeare in Deutschland* more than thirty years ago; for France more recently by J. J. Jusserand¹. My object in the following notes is to add some facts to the evidence already collected, and to indicate the relations in which several of the items stand to their English sources and to each other.

The earliest mention of the name Shakespeare in a book printed on the continent, is to be found in the *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*, published at Kiel in 1682 by the famous 'Polyhistor,' Daniel Georg Morhof:

Der John Dryden hat gar wohl gelahrt von der Dramaticâ Poesi geschriben. Die Engelländer die er hierin anführt, sein Shakespeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, von welchen ich nichts gesehen habe².

And in Adrien Baillet's *Jugemens des Savans*, printed at Paris in 1685-86, the name Shakespeare appears for the first time in a French book, it being included in a list of the principal poets of the British islands³.

But for both France and Germany the first knowledge of the English poet which went beyond the mere name, was drawn from Sir

¹ R. Genée, *Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1870, and J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1898 (English translation, London, 1899), where references to other literature on the subject will be found.

² In the chapter *Von der Engelländer Poeterey*, p. 250 (the passage is quoted by A. Koberstein, *Vermischte Aufsätze*, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 163 ff., and by Genée, p. 60). The name 'Shakespeare' also occurs in the summary of Morhof's chapter (p. 227) and in a quotation from Camden's *Remains* (p. 232). In a subsequent chapter *Von den Schauspielen*, Jonson and Milton are mentioned, not Shakespeare. Later editions of the *Unterricht* appeared in 1700 and 1718.

³ Jusserand, p. 141 (English translation, p. 176). On a still earlier ms. notice of Shakespeare in France, see p. 137 (170).

William Temple's widely-read *Essay on Poetry*. A French translation of this essay appeared in the *Œuvres mêlées* of Temple, published at Utrecht in 1693 and frequently in subsequent years. Here (p. 366) occurs the statement: 'Je ne suis point étonné de voir jeter des cris & répandre des larmes à beaucoup de Gens, lors qu'ils lisent certaines Tragédies de *Schake-spear*.' Here, too, was to be read that claim for the superiority of the English dramatist to all others ancient or modern, in the quality of 'humeur,' Shakespeare having been the first to introduce it on the English stage.

The second reference to Shakespeare in a book written by a German is based on Temple. It occurs in a tract, *Vindiciae nominis Germanici, contra quosdam obtrectatores Gallos* (Amsterdam, 1694), one of the many replies to the famous charge brought against the Germans by Bouhours, that they were deficient in 'esprit.' The tract takes the form of a letter by J. F. C. (i.e. J. F. Cramer¹) to F. B. Carpzw. On p. 35 is to be found the following:

Quantam autem poetices vernaculae facultatem habeant Angli, non ita pridem demonstravit Templeus Eques...Sidnejum, Equitem Anglum, omnibus & Anglis & exteris Poetis, qui aut nostra aut majorum nostrorum aetate ingenii laude praestiterunt, antepone longo intervallo; Spencerum comparare cum Petrarcha & Ronsardo? Shakespearium cum Molierio, in genere comico; & in ludica dictione, Joannem Minceum, Equitem, praeferre etiam Tasso & Scarroni, vir complurium linguarum & omnium hujus generis elegantiarum callentissimus non dubitat².

In January, 1702, the *Acta Eruditorum*, that magnificent monument of German learning, industry and cosmopolitan literary interests, had a little more information to offer on the subject of Shakespeare. In a review of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poetry*, the critic, in summarising the work, quotes (p. 38) the following passage, which could hardly have failed to impress the German mind:

Tantis enim eum laudibus effert, ut si non ingenio, certe arte superatum ab eo putet ipsum Shakespearium, qui ut eruditus minus fuit, ita ingenio modernos omnes Poëtas & tantum non veteres quoque superasse fertur, ut Halesius nihil uspiam apud Poëtas pulcrum exstare judicaverit, quod non multo elegantius aliquo in dramate expresserit Shakespearius. Ne vero solus sapere videretur Johnson, cuncta Beaumontii censura subjecit, qui ut post Shakespearium inclaruit, ita dotes insitas magis studio percoluit...

¹ See *Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, Amsterdam, 1730, p. 14, also the article on Cramer in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*.

² I am indebted to the Staatsbibliothek in Munich for helping me to trace this interesting pamphlet; but there is also a copy in the British Museum. It was reviewed in the *Acta Eruditorum* for 1895, p. 39 (cp. Hettner, *Literaturgesch. d. 18. Jahrh.* 4, iii. i, p. 163), where the statement with reference to the English poets is repeated: '...et inter Anglos quidem eminere Sidneium, Spencerum, Shakespearium, Minceum, teste Equite de Temple.' 'Minceus' is the once famous Sir John Mennes (in the French translation of Temple, 'le chevalier Jean Mince').

In the course of the next few years the continent seems to have made little progress in its knowledge of Shakespeare. In 1708 the *Journal des Sçavans*, in a preliminary announcement of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, mentioned that this was 'le plus fameux des Poètes Anglois pour le tragique¹,' and, about the same time, a Hamburg poet, Barthold Feind, again falling back on Temple as his authority, wrote in his *Gedanken von der Opera*:

Mr. le Chevalier Temple in seinem mehrmahls angeführten *Essai de la Poësie* erzehlet p. 374, daß etliche, wenn sie des renommirten Englischen Tragici *Shakespear* Trauer-Spiele verlesen hören, oft lautes Halses an zu schreyen gefangen, und häufige Thränen vergossen².

As far as the general public was concerned, a more important word in praise of Shakespeare was that in A. Boyer's *Dialogues familiers* (in English and French) appended to various widely-used grammars for the use of French and English learners of the respective languages, by Boyer himself and by G. Miège. The statement is (I quote only the French version):

Pour ce qui est des Poètes, il n'y a point de Nation qui puisse entrer en comparaison avec la nôtre. Il est vray; car nous avons un *Pindare* & un *Horace*, en *Cowley*, & en *Oldham*; un *Terence* en *Ben. Johnson*; un *Sophocle*, & un *Euripide* en *Shakespear*; un *Homere* & un *Virgile* en *Milton*; & presque tous ces Poètes ensemble en *Dryden* seul³.

The biographical lexicons published on the continent in the closing years of the seventeenth century had completely ignored the existence of Shakespeare, even when they devoted comparatively long notices to Milton⁴. The first compiler to repair the omission was J. F. Buddeus, who in his *Allgemeines historisches Lexicon*, published at Leipzig in four volumes in 1709, inserted (vol. iv. p. 428) the following notice of Shakespeare:

Shakespear, (William) geboren in Stratton an der Avon, in der Engelländischen provinz Warwickshire, war ein berühmter poet, ob er wohl keine sonderbare gelehrsamkeit hatte, weßwegen

¹ *Supplément du Journal des Sçavans* (Oct. 1708), p. 396. Two years later the same periodical announced the appearance of the edition: 'Le Sieur Tonson Libraire de cette Ville, commence à vendre la nouvelle édition des Oeuvres de Shakees Pear en six vol. in 8°. M. Row l'a revûe & corrigée, & il y a joint une Dissertation tres-curieuse sur la Vie & les Ouvrages de ce Poëte' (1710, p. 110). Both passages are quoted by M. Jusserand.

² Quoted by both Koberstein and Genée. It is to be found in B. Feind's *Deutsche Gedichte*, i. Stade, 1708, p. 109.

³ It is doubtful when this dialogue, which is not to be found in the older editions of the grammars, was first published; it would appear not to have been written until 1705. See A. Boyer, *The Compleat French-Master*, 5th ed., 1710 (Brit. Mus.), p. 377. Jusserand quotes it from a Grammar of 1715.

⁴ Shakespeare's name is, for instance, not to be found in Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, in Moréri's *Supplément* (1716), nor even in the German translation of Bayle, published by Gottsched and his circle at Leipzig as late as 1741-44.

man sich desto mehr über ihn verwundern mußte. Er hatte ein scherzhaftes gemüthe, kunte aber doch auch sehr ernsthaft seyn, und vortreffliche tragödien und comödien schreiben. Er hatte viel sinnreiche und subtile streitigkeiten mit Ben:Johnson, wiewohl keiner von beyden viel damit gewann.

It is strange that this interesting notice should have hitherto escaped attention, as the *Lexicon*, which was subsequently revised by J. C. Iselin, father of the better-known historical writer, Isaak Iselin, reached a third edition in 1730. The source of the notice, it should be added, is Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1662).

In 1715 the Leipzig scholar, J. B. Mencke (or rather, Ch. G. Jöcher, who was the real compiler), with the unscrupulousness which appears to be the right of all dictionary-makers, appropriated almost literally Buddeus's notice for his *Compendiöses Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1715). But for the first sentence he substituted: 'Shakespear (Wilh.) ein Engl. Dramaticus, geb. zu Stratford 1564. war schlecht auferzogen, und verstund kein Latein, jedoch brachte ers in der Poesie sehr hoch.' And he added the further information: 'Er st. zu Stratford 1616. 23 Apr. im 53. Jahre. Seine Schau- und Trauer-Spiele, deren er sehr viel geschrieben, sind in VI. Theilen 1709, zu London zusammen gedruckt, und werden sehr hoch gehalten'. This notice was reprinted without alteration in the subsequent editions of the *Lexicon* of 1725 and 1733; and when, in the years 1750—53, Jöcher published as a fourth and much enlarged edition of Mencke, his *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, the only addition to this naive account of Shakespeare was a mention of the fact that: 'Seine Werke sind auch zu London An. 1733 in sieben Voll. von Lud. Theobald mit viel critischen und andern Anmerkungen von neuen an das Licht gestellet worden, allwo auch von ihm mehrere Nachricht anzutreffen.' The fifth edition of Jöcher's work (1784—1822), for which Adelung and Rotermund were responsible, did not reach the letter S.

Between Mencke's *Lexicon* of 1715, and the next reference to Shakespeare in a German book—omitting the repetitions in the later editions of Buddeus-Iselin and Mencke and of Morhof's *Unterricht*—there is a gap of seventeen years, which, notwithstanding diligent search, I have been unable to fill up. The silence in Germany is remarkable, for there is no doubt that, in these years, through the medium of French sources of information, Shakespeare's name was becoming increasingly familiar to the continent. Of these French

¹ Mencke himself possessed the edition of 1709 (*Biblioteca Menckiana*, Leipzig, 1723, p. 562). His notice is quoted both by Koberstein and Genée.

sources¹, three were of paramount importance for the spread of a knowledge of English literature: the French translation of the *Spectator* (1714), the *Dissertation* on English poetry in the *Journal littéraire* (1717), and Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglois* (1725).

In its French garb the *Spectator* had an extraordinary vogue on the continent. The first edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1714 under the title: *Le Spectateur ou le Socrate moderne, où l'on voit un portrait naïf des moeurs de ce siècle. Traduit de l'Anglois*—and forty years later, it seemed still to be as popular as ever². Even, however, under the most favourable circumstances, the *Spectator* was not a work which could have materially helped to familiarise a foreign people with Shakespeare, and its value in this respect was still further diminished by the fact that all the early French editions were much abbreviated. More than half the references to Shakespeare in the *Spectator* do not appear in French at all, and of the remainder, the majority are mere passing allusions or quotations. The most definite pronouncement, and one that was likely to arrest attention, is in the paper of July 1, 1712, in which Addison discusses the 'fairy way of writing':

Entre les *Anglois*, SHAKESPEAR l'emporte infiniment au-dessus de tous les autres. Cette noble extravagance de l'Esprit, qu'il possédoit au suprême degré, le rendoit capable de toucher ce foible superstitieux de l'Imagination de ses Lecteurs, & de réussir en de certains endroits, où il n'étoit soutenu que par la seule force de son propre Génie. Il y a quelque chose de si bizarre, & avec tout cela de si grave, dans les Discours de ses Phantômes, de ses Fées, de ses Sorciers & de ses autres Personnages chimériques, qu'on ne sauroit s'empêcher de les croire naturels, quoique nous n'ayons aucune Regle fixe pour en bien juger; & qu'on est contraint d'avouer, que, s'il y a tels Etres au Monde, il est fort probable qu'ils parleroient & agiroient de la manière dont il les a représentez.

On the first occasion when the name Shakespeare occurs ('notre fameux Shakespeare,' No. 17), the translator, who shows throughout an intimate familiarity with English conditions and affairs, adds a footnote explaining: 'Il a écrit des Tragédies, dont la plupart des Scènes sont admirables; mais il n'étoit pas tout-à-fait exact dans ses Plans, ni dans la justesse de la Composition³.'

Much better adapted for spreading a knowledge of Shakespeare

¹ I omit the minor notices, as I have few to add to those mentioned by M. Jusserand. See an instructive note by F. Baldensperger on *La prononciation française du nom de Shakespeare* in the *Archiv für neuere Sprachen und Litteraturen*, cxv. (1905), pp. 399 ff.

² According to L. P. Betz (*Bodmer-Denkschrift*, Zürich, 1900, p. 238), editions were published at Amsterdam in 1714, 1716-18, 1722-30, 1731-36, 1744, 1754-55; at Paris, in 1716-26, 1754 ('corrigée et augmentée') and 1754-55. The British Museum possesses an edition dated Amsterdam, 1746-50. The German translation (by Frau Gottsched), *Der Zuschauer*, dates only from 1739-43.

³ Quoted by Jusserand, p. 142 (178).

than the *Spectateur*, although naturally appealing to a more limited public, was the *Dissertation sur la poésie angloise* which appeared in volume IX of the *Journal littéraire* (1717), pp. 157—216. After touching briefly on Prior, Butler, Rochester, Dryden, and discussing the rhymeless verse of the English, which he regards as no better than good prose, the author of this article goes on to analyse at considerable length *Paradise Lost*; he also criticises the *Faery Queen* and Addison's *Campaigh*. From the epic he turns to the comedy, reproving the English writers for their coarseness and vulgarity, their unscrupulous thefts from the French; even the writers of tragedies are not free from blame in this respect. He deprecates the English contempt for the 'rules,' and this naturally brings him to Shakespeare (p. 202):

Il est probable que tous ceux qui voudront bien réfléchir sur l'essence de la Tragédie, admettront avec nous ces Regles comme les principales, & comme celles sans lesquelles une Tragédie n'est pas Tragédie. Sur ce pied-là ce ne sont point des Tragédies que les Pièces de Théâtre faites par *Shakspear*, que la plupart des Anglois regardent encore, comme le plus admirable écrivain dans ce genre-là, & à qui dans tous les prologues de ceux qui l'ont suivi, on dresse des Autels comme à un Dieu de Théâtre.

But this 'divin Shakspear' ignored the rules of his art in the most reprehensible way; and the incongruous introduction of the gravedigger scene in *Hamlet*, which shocked Voltaire, is quoted as an illustration. Besides *Hamlet*, the critic mentions *Richard III*, as an example of how 'le grand *Shakspear* a traité toute l'Histoire d'Angleterre, depuis *Guillaume le Conquerant* jusqu'au Regne sous lequel il a vécu.' *Othello* is accorded what is relatively the most detailed analysis, but the critic regards this tragedy from an even more superior standpoint. The article finishes with a few words on contemporary writers, such as Philips, Rowe and Addison. On the whole, this dissertation was the first real introduction of the English poet to the continent, and, until Voltaire published his *Lettres philosophiques* in 1734, it remained virtually the only source of detailed information.

What the third authority on English matters, the Swiss writer Bêat de Muralt, in his *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François* (1725), had to say on the subject of Shakespeare, is of very minor importance, he being more interested in the English adaptor of *L'Avare*, 'Schadvel'; but his views on Shakespeare are worth quoting, if only because his book penetrated into circles which had no access to the *Journal littéraire*. The first edition of the *Lettres* was published at Bern in 1725, the second—nominally, at least—at Cologne, in 1727¹.

¹ See O. von Greyerz, *Bêat de Muralt*, Frauenfeld, 1888; Greyerz has also edited the *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François*, Bern, 1897.

Si les Anglois, (he says in the second letter), pouvoient se resoudre à y être plus simples, & à étudier davantage le Langage de la Nature, ils excelleroient sans doute dans le Tragique par dessus tous les Peuples de l'Europe. L'Angleterre est un País de Passions & de Catastrophes, jusques là que *Schakspear*, un de leurs meilleurs anciens Poètes, a mis une grande partie de leur Histoire en Tragédies. D'ailleurs, le Génie de la Nation est pour le Sérieux ; leur langue est forte et succinte, telle qu'il la faut pour exprimer les passions. Ainsi leurs Tragédies ont d'excellens endroits, & un grand nombre ; mais elles ont les mêmes défauts que leurs Comédies, & je pense quelques autres de plus.

With such sources of knowledge more or less accessible, the scanty paragraph which was inserted in the second edition of the *Engeländische Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (1732) by the Hanoverian theologian H. L. Bentheim, seems somewhat belated ; the notice, which is again taken from Fuller's *Worthies*, will be found on p. 976 :

§ 151. William Shakespear, kam zu Stradford in Warwickshire auf diese Welt. Seine Gelehrtheit war sehr schlecht, und daher verwunderte man sich um destomehr, daß er ein fürtrefflicher Poeta war. Er hatte einen sünreichen Kopff, voller Scherz, und war in Tragoedien und Comoedien so glücklich, daß er auch einen Heraclitum zum Lachen, und einen Democritum zum Weinen bringen konnte¹.

The earliest reference to Shakespeare which I have been able to trace in Italian sources, has something more than Italian interest. It is to be found in a letter which prefaces the tragedy *Il Cesare* by Antonio Conti, published in 1726. Conti was a cultured Venetian abbé, who, attracted mainly by the brilliancy of English scientific discovery and the fame of the Royal Society, came to London in 1715. He was provided with excellent introductions and was soon on friendly terms with the English scholars and scientists of the day, including Newton. In 1716, when he went over to Germany with the English court, he was charged with the important mission of mediating between the English philosopher and Leibniz ; but before he reached Hanover Leibniz was dead. Of delicate health and constantly afflicted with asthma, he found that the air of London, rendered heavy 'per la mistura delle particelle del carbon di terra,' did not agree with him, and on the advice of friends and doctors, he gave up his scientific studies and retired to the country. As a residence he selected 'Kinsington,' where he enjoyed the intimacy of the Duke of Buckingham, and the latter reawakened in him those literary interests which he had, so far, not had time to cultivate in England. The Duke showed him his tragedies

¹ See also Genée, p. 62. In the chapter on Oxford there is another mention of the poet with reference to Otway : 'Thomas Otway, ein guter Poete und belobter Comoedien-Schreiber ; welcher aber den Shakespear sein auszusprechen wußte' (p. 435). The first edition of the *Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (Leipzig, 1694) contains no reference to Shakespeare, although Milton, Butler and Chaucer are mentioned. The author, it ought to be added, died in 1723.

on the subject of Caesar and Brutus—adaptations of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*—and Conti's ambition was fired to write a similar work. The first result was *Il Cesare*, which, however, was not finished until after Conti returned to France in 1718. In Paris he read the drama aloud in several literary circles, and copies of it in manuscript passed from hand to hand. Ultimately Cardinal Bentivoglio, then the Papal Nuncio in Paris, without consulting the author, had the tragedy printed and in 1726 it appeared in a handsome quarto at Faenza¹. It is in a letter to Jacopo Martelli that Conti explains the reasons which induced him to write the drama and also expresses his views on Shakespeare. The most characteristic passage is the following (p. 54 f.):

Sasper è il Cornelio degl' Inglesi, ma molto più irregolare del Cornelio, sebbene al pari di lui pregno di grandi idee, e di nobili sentimenti. Restringendomi quì a parlare del suo Cesare, il Sasper lo fa morire al terzo atto; il rimanente della Tragedia è occupato dall' aringa di Marc-antonio al Popolo indi dalle guerre e dalla morte di Cassio e di Bruto. Può maggiormente violarsi l' unità del tempo, dell' azione, e del luogo? Ma gl' Inglesi disprezzarono sino al Catone le regole d' Aristotile per la ragione, che la Tragedia è fatta per piacere, e chi ottima ella è allora che piace; contenesse alla cento azioni diverse, e trasportasse personaggi dall' Europa nell' Asia, e finissero vecchi, ove cominciarono fanciulli. Così pensava cred' io la maggior parte degl' Italiani del 1600 guasti dalle Commedie Spagnuole; e mi maraviglio, come in quel secolo niuno si sia avvisato di tradurre in Italiano le Commedie e Tragedie Inglesi, colme d' accidenti come le Spagnuole, ma certamente con caratteri più naturali e leggiadri. L' Italia avrebbe se non imparata tutta la storia de i Re d' Inghilterra, che da' loro poeti è stata posta sul teatro, ogni vita di Re dando materia ad una tragedia.

The importance of this statement is that here, for the first time, we find a critic outside of England not merely regarding Shakespeare with respect, but hinting at the possibility of a continental nation learning from him². That Conti's own *Cesare*, excellent though it is, has nothing Shakespearian about it, does not impair his argument, and his words fell on fruitful ground both in France and Germany. In all probability, this tragedy indicated to Voltaire how the 'drunken savage' might be trimmed and docked; and even if *Il Cesare* was not the immediate model of *La Mort de César*, it at least corroborated Voltaire's

¹ A biography of Conti is prefaced to the second volume of his *Prose e Poesie*, Venice 1756. See also the admirable series of articles on Conti by G. Brognoligo in the *Ateneo Veneto*, 1893-94.

² The explanation of this attitude is partly to be sought in the strained relations existing at the time between Italian critics and the representatives of French pseudo-classicism. See Ch. Dejob, *Études sur la tragédie*, Paris 1897, p. 107 ff. and A. Galletti, *Le teorie drammatiche e la tragedia nel secolo XVIII*, i. Cremona, 1901. To Conti and the influence of his critical views, I propose to return in a subsequent article. Meanwhile, it is perhaps worth while correcting an error in Prof. Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*, where (vol. III, p. 23) to Conti is ascribed the *Paragone della Poesia tragica* published by Bodmer in 1732. The author of that book was not, however, Conti, but Calepio—Pietro de' Conti di Calepio—whom even the British Museum authorities have erroneously catalogued under 'Conti.'

choice of *Julius Caesar* as the drama best adapted for the purposes of introducing Shakespeare to his countrymen¹. Further, the words just quoted from Conti's introductory letter have also, it seems to me, left their mark on the first edition of the *Lettres philosophiques*, where Voltaire, in introducing the English poet, wrote (Letter xviii): 'Shakespear, qui passoit pour le Corneille des Anglois, fleurissoit à peu près dans le tems de Lopez de Véga.' To mention Corneille in the same line with Shakespeare was obviously not in accordance with Voltaire's maturer views², and in the later editions of the *Lettres philosophiques*, he substituted for the objectionable comparison, the words: 'Shakespear que les Anglois prennent pour un Sophocle, fleurissoit etc.'

Conti's interest in Shakespeare had also a sequel in German literature. It offers an explanation to a puzzle which has long been the subject of conjecture and controversy. The Swiss critic Bodmer, in the prefatory *Nachrichten* to the first edition of his translation of *Paradise Lost* (1732), had mentioned 'Shakespear der Engelländische Sophocles,' and a few years earlier, had had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Shakespeare in the original³; but it is more than doubtful if he took advantage—or knew enough English to take advantage—of that opportunity. In 1740, however, in his *Critische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740) and in his *Critische Betrachtungen der poetischen Gemählde der Dichter* (1741), he adopted Conti's Italianised orthography, and called the English poet 'Sasper' and 'Saspar.' Now that the origin of Bodmer's freak is clear, it seems to me that the only inference to be drawn is that Shakespeare was, at the best, a very shadowy personage to Bodmer, a poet for whom he had little use except as a means with which to clench an argument; and for such purposes it was immaterial to him whether he called him 'Sasper' or 'Shakespear⁴.' Indeed, keeping Bodmer's very mediocre literary

¹ See Voltaire's preface to the drama, and his letter to Desfontaines of Nov. 14, 1735 (*Oeuvres compl.*, 33, p. 551).

² Cp. Letter to M. de Cideville, Nov. 3, 1735: 'C'est Shakespeare, le Corneille de Londres, grand fou d'ailleurs, et ressemblant plus souvent à Gilles qu'à Corneille' (*Oeuvres complètes*, 33, p. 545).

³ In a letter of January 28, 1724, to his friend L. Zellweger: 'Was ihr mir von Congreve, Cibber, Addison, Shakspear, unt Dryden gesant, davon werde ich Euch betreffend wie ich diese schriftten ansehe, ein ander Malß Rechenschaft geben' (H. Bodmer, *Die Anfänge des zürcherischen Milton*, in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte*, M. Bernays gewidmet, Leipzig, 1893, p. 193).

⁴ For the various solutions that have been suggested in explanation of Bodmer's 'Sasper' see Th. Vetter, *Zürich als Vermittlerin englischer Literatur*, Zürich, 1891, pp. 15 ff., and the same writer's contribution to the *Bodmer-Denkschrift*, p. 330. It is interesting to note that, just as Conti made 'Sasper' out of 'Shakespeare,' so he wrote 'Sasfburis' for 'Shaftesbury' and 'Uctsonio' for 'Hutcheson' (*Prose e Poesie*, 1. (1739), Preface).

attainments in view, it is perhaps not too much to say that in 1740-41, he had no definite conviction as to how the poet's name was spelled, and was as ready to accept Conti's authority as that of the French *Spectateur*. One thing, at least, is clear, and it is a point which some German critics have been inclined to overlook: there is no evidence in these critical writings to prove that Bodmer at this time knew anything more of Shakespeare than was to be learned from these two sources. The only references which seem to imply a knowledge of individual plays (*Von dem Wunderbaren*, p. 246, and *Poetische Gemählde*, p. 170 f.) are direct translations from the *Spectator*.

While Bodmer was still writing blindly about 'Sasper' another German, Kaspar Wilhelm von Borek, who from 1735 to 1738 was Prussian ambassador in London, had completed the first literal translation of a Shakespearian drama, and again the choice fell on *Julius Caesar*. Borek's *Der Tod des Julius Cäsar* in Alexandrines appeared at Berlin in 1741. Possibly indeed, this translation may be regarded as a direct challenge to Voltaire, whose *Mort de César* was translated into German by J. F. Scharffenstein in 1737. Both Borek's translation, however, and Bodmer's knowledge of Shakespeare fall outside the limits I have set myself, and must be reserved for later consideration. Meanwhile, the fact is worth chronicling that, within a few years—between 1726 and 1741—three versions, in three of the chief languages of Europe, based on one and the same play of Shakespeare's, carried not merely the English poet's name, but something—and in the German case, a very great deal—of his art, to the nations of the continent.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

SHELLEY AND M. G. LEWIS.

THE influence of M. G. Lewis' novel *The Monk* upon Shelley is at present, for the most part, an unwritten chapter in his development as a poet and a thinker. Mention has often been made of the result produced by the influence of the so-called 'Renaissance of Wonder' upon him; but the remarks dealing with Lewis in this connection have been very scanty. They have mostly consisted in statements to the effect that Shelley attempted in his earliest works to revive the uncouth horrors of the *Monk*, and that his productions of this period bear traces of the vapid sentimentality and disordered imagination of its author. Medwin, Godwin, Jefferson Hogg, and Peacock, who laughed at their friend for his transcendentalism, which about this time, as the first named has stated, 'ran on bandits, castles, ruined towers, wild mountains, storms and apparitions,' all made no direct allusion to any close connection between the works of the two authors. And it has been the same with nearly all the many critics who have followed them. This was first done by the late Dr Garnett in his publication of the *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire* (London and New York, 1898). The curious light thrown by him on this subject has not yet been adequately explained. In the course of the search for the volume, which its editor has called 'a bibliographical event as rare as, according to Petrarch, the appearance of a Laura in heaven,' Professor Dowden discovered a short critique of it in the *British Critic*, while another gentleman found a few lines of a similar purport in another journal. Strange to say, a long article in the *Literary Panorama* (Vol. VIII. p. 1064), containing copious extracts from many of the poems, was entirely overlooked, and has up to the present not been mentioned. The discovery of the missing volume by a member of the Shelley family has, however, now deprived the last-mentioned article of the great importance it would otherwise possess. The reason of Shelley's withdrawal of his so-called *Original Poems* was due to his publisher Stockdale finding one of Monk Lewis' poems printed verbatim in its

pages. As Garnett was unable to ascertain which poem this was, so much so that he confesses 'some doubt whether Stockdale's testimony is entirely reliable,' and made sundry guesses which are all incorrect, it may be here stated that the poem in question is undoubtedly *Saint Edmund's Eve*, pp. 37—44, which is copied word for word from a poem entitled *The Black Canon of Elmham or Saint Edmund's Eve*, from Lewis' *Tales of Terror*, 1799 and 1808 editions. In addition to this, Garnett did not find out that the subject-matter of the two other longest poems in the collection is derived nearly entirely from the same author. The poem *Ghasta*, pp. 50—62—the origin of the first stanza of which has been rightly explained to have been influenced by Chatterton—is nothing more or less than a versification by Shelley of the tale of *Don Raymond*, *The Bleeding Nun*, and the *Wandering Jew* as related in the *Monk*, with some minor alterations. *The Revenge*, pp. 45—49, is due to the story of the *Castle of Lindenberg* and the ballad of *Alonzo the Brave* in the same romance. These parts of the *Monk* are themselves derived from German sources. As a specimen of Shelley's plagiarism, and as an illustration of Lewis acting as a mediary of German influence on the former's youthful works, the following nineteenth stanza from *Ghasta* can serve:—

Thou art mine, and I am thine,
Till the sinking of the world,
I am thine, and thou art mine,
Till in ruin death is hurled,

which is taken from the corresponding lines in the *Monk*:—

Agnes! Agnes! thou art mine,
Agnes! Agnes! I am thine,
In my veins while blood shall roll,
Thou art mine! I am thine!
Thine my body! thine my soul!

which in their turn—as the whole story of the *Bleeding Nun*, of which they form a part—go back upon one of Musæus' fairy tales called *Die Entführung*:—

Ich habe dich, nie lass ich dich:
fein Liebchen du bist mein,
fein Liebchen ich bin dein,
du mein, ich dein,
mit Leib und Seele.

It appears to the writer that a careful investigation of the contents of Shelley's other juvenile works, with those of Lewis, would show that he was largely indebted to this romanticist, not only as has hitherto been supposed as regards style, but also as regards subject-matter. Buxton Forman and other critics have conjectured, for instance, that

Shelley derived most of the contents of his novel, *Zastrozzi*, from German originals. His statement in the Preface of Shelley's *Prose Works* 'that the repeated accounts of Matilda's violent passions are beyond the probabilities of so youthful an imagination as Shelley's at that time, and were more likely to have been taken from some unpleasant foreign book that he did not more than half understand,' is quite incorrect. There can be little doubt that they are directly derived from the similar character of the same name in the *Monk*, and it is interesting to observe, in connection with Buxton Forman's statement, that Lewis was at the time he wrote his novel about the same age as Shelley was when he wrote his. To show further how *Zastrozzi* is nothing but a second version of certain portions of the *Monk*, with, however, great alterations—a fact which up to the present has escaped notice—the following resemblances can be alluded to:—The character of Matilda corresponds in nearly every respect with that of Matilda in the *Monk*; Verezzi resembles Ambrosio; and Julia, Antonia. *Zastrozzi* may be said to take the part of the Devil in the *Monk*. The greatest difference between the two romances is that Shelley eliminates the idea and use of supernatural agency. In the *Monk*, Matilda, who drives Ambrosio and Antonia to ruin and ultimate death, is the direct agent of the Devil. In Shelley's novel, Matilda, who precipitates in ruin Verezzi and Julia, is urged on by *Zastrozzi*, who, although one might imagine him to be the Evil One himself by the way he acts and is described, is still only desirous of avenging his mother, who has been seduced by Verezzi. *Zastrozzi* is indirectly the cause of his father's death in the same way that Ambrosio kills his own mother, and in both cases the relationship between the villains and their victims is first disclosed at the end of the respective tales. As the one (Matilda) is the means of rescuing the life of her beloved Verezzi, so the other, under similar circumstances, that of her enamoured Ambrosio, and in both cases these acts conduce to the gratification of sensual wishes. In the one novel there is a glowing description of Matilda watching at the bedside of Ambrosio, and in the other of Matilda at that of Verezzi, and at the end of both there is a scene before the Inquisition, etc. As Lewis himself drew material extensively from German sources, the above indication of Shelley's indebtedness to him does not necessarily disprove the previously accepted idea of Shelley owing much in his juvenile works to German romanticism, but at least exhibits this supposition in a novel and interesting aspect.

A. B. YOUNG.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

‘TO SET SPELL ON END.’

Certes, dame, þou seist as hende ;
And I shal setten spel on ende,
And tellen þe al.

Dame Siriz, 62.

IN Prof. Schipper's sixth edition of Zupitza's *Übungsbuch*—the first in which *Dame Siriz* appears—this expression was not commented on at all. Prof. Holthausen asked for an explanation in his review in *Engl. Studien* (31, 268). In the one now given in the seventh edition (Glossary, *in v.* ‘setten’), ‘setten on ende,’ ‘zu ende bringen,’ Prof. Schipper was evidently inspired by Mätzner's note: ‘say my speech to the end.’ But it strikes one that there can hardly be any question as yet of saying the speech ‘to the end,’ for the lover is only just beginning. Moreover, when we come to think of it, the text does not say so, for ‘on ende’ is not ‘to the end.’ Mätzner's only quotation in support of his explanation has, it is true, ‘to þan ende,’ but with the verb ‘to say,’ not with ‘to set.’

It is thus necessary to look for a different explanation, which is fortunately not far to seek. ‘To set on end’ suggests a stick or pole, or something similar, and this brings us to another ‘spell,’ *viz.* a ‘spill.’ If we now study the context, it becomes at once clearer. The lover is tentatively feeling his way; ‘I hope,’ he has said (37 ff.), ‘that if I tell thee my errand thou mayst not become wroth,’ and when he is encouraged by the lady's more than friendly reply (‘even if thou shouldst speak me shame, I will not blame thee’) all his hesitation disappears, and he says (61 ff.): ‘Truly, Lady, thou speakest so kindly now, that I am determined to tell thee all.’ For line 62, as will be immediately apparent, means nothing else than ‘I am determined.’

The key to the difficulty is to be found in the phrase ‘to set the spell up on end’ borrowed from the game of ‘knur and spell’ (see *E. D. D. in v.* ‘knur’). The ‘spell’ is ‘a thin piece of wood with a

cavity at one end to receive the knur or ball... The spell acts as a lever to raise the ball to a proper height when it is struck with the batstick or bat.' Cf. *ib.*, in *v.* 'spell' as well as a slightly different description in *v.* 'knur.' To 'set up the spell on end' is therefore evidently to do one's best to send the ball in the proper direction; and the *E. D. D.* gives an example of the figurative use of the expression in Yorkshire, with the meaning 'to show firm determination for the mastery' (in *v.* 'spel,' *sub* 8, 'Ah's be fooarst to set t'spel up an end'), and then more generally, 'to be determined.' The expression is analogous to that in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, 5, 6: 'to set up one's rest,' which may have been suggested by the game of Primero, although undoubtedly also understood in its military sense, as Keightley has urged. The two phrases mutually elucidate each other.

H. LOGEMAN.

'DEEP PATHAIRES' (*Arden of Feversham*, III, v, 51).

This word is certainly difficult, but I do not think that conjecture is any cure for it. The various proposals to alter it seem to be based on the assumption that the example quoted by Mr Littledale is unique and that the word is therefore imperfectly attested. This is not so; it occurs at least twice. This important evidence in its favour has escaped even the Argus eyes of the *N. E. D.* To the passage from *Arden of Feversham*, III, v, 51, should be added a parallel from W. Smith's *The Hector of Germanie*, 1615, sig. B 4 verso, where old Fitzwaters, rival to his own son for the hand of Floramel Clynton, surprises him in his wooing, draws upon him, and is held back by the steward. Young Fitzwaters cries:

If I could feare the wauing of a Sword,
 Mine enemies had frighted me ere now;
 But I'me invaluable [*sic*], like my minde,
 Not to be wounded but with darts of loue;
 And I as little estimate a Father
 In these Pathaires, as he esteemes my grieve.

'Suspires' is impossible here, and the recurrence of the word seems to me to dispose of such substitutes as 'petarres' and 'pathaines.' Two compositors could not blunder alike over such an out-of-the-way word. The case of 'the prenzie Angelo' in *Measure for Measure*, III, i, 95, is exactly parallel: 'prenzie' would have had a short shrift at the hands of most modern editors but for the fact that the epithet recurs, with marked distinctness and emphasis, in the next sentence. In the case of either word it seems impossible to doubt (1) that the printer copied it

faithfully, and (2) that he attached a meaning to it. The reading, to quote the wise words of the Cambridge editors on the crux in *Measure for Measure*, 'rests on such strong authority that it is better to seek to explain than to alter it.'

PERCY SIMPSON.

JONSON'S 'STAPLE OF NEWS.'

In the *Modern Language Review* for last January I drew attention (p. 143) to Dr Winter's discovery that, in the *Staple of News*, Jonson employed many elements which had been used earlier in the *London Prodigal*. I confess that when I wrote the notice in question I had not yet read the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* for 1905. Had I done so, I should have taken the opportunity of pointing out that Mr Crawford had made a similar discovery with regard to the *Staple of News* and the *Bloody Brother*. Jonson's play in fine, turns out to be little more than a cento made up of borrowings from earlier works. Whether it follows that those works were by Jonson is another question, but a very strong case can undoubtedly be made out. Possibly Ben gathered up fragments of his own work produced in collaboration with others, and wove them into a new piece, much as Day did in the *Parliament of Bees*. I should mention that, while the parallels Mr Crawford adduces between the *Bloody Brother* and Jonson's *Discoveries* are of great interest, one would like, before building on them, to know how far the latter work was original. Mr Spingarn has shown that considerable portions of it are translated from foreign sources.

W. W. GREG.

FIELDING AND GOLDSMITH IN LEYDEN.

In his *Life of Fielding (English Men of Letters)*, Mr Austin Dobson states (p. 7) that Fielding returned to London from Leyden, where he had 'studied the civilians' for about two years, 'at the beginning of 1728 or the end of 1727.' This cannot be correct as Fielding was not registered as a student at the University of Leyden till 1728. On p. 915 of the *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* occurs the following entry: 'Febr. 16. 1728: Rectore Johanne Wesselio, Henricus Fielding, Anglus. 20, L.' On that day Henry Fielding, aged twenty, was entered as *litterarum studiosus* at Leyden.

This entry naturally gives no certainty about the date of his arrival in Holland. But one interesting thing we learn from it is that Fielding

applied himself to the study of letters, that is, the study of the classics. Of course, he may have 'studied the civilians' as well, but the entry leaves no room for doubt as to the purpose of his stay at Leyden. As his first play, *Love in Several Masques*, was staged at Drury Lane in February 1728, and his next play, *The Temple Beau*, was produced in January 1730, it is not improbable that his residence in Holland filled up the interval or part of it. Did the profits of the play perhaps cover part of his travelling expenses?

Although Goldsmith may have lived for some time at Leyden, his name does not occur in the *Album studiosorum* which was studiously kept by every succeeding *Rector Magnificus*. This means that Goldsmith was never a student in the University. The year given in the various biographies is 1754, but neither under that date nor, for the matter of that, under any other, does the name of Goldsmith appear in the academic register. His friend Ellis, who assisted him in his pecuniary difficulties, was entered on the 11th of January 1754 as 'Thomas Ellis, Hibernus, 24. M.' No doubt Goldsmith's extreme poverty prevented him from becoming a regular student.

A. E. H. SWAEN.

GOTISCH 'BIJANDZUP þAN' (*Philemon*, 22).

Πεποιθὼς τῇ ὑπακοῇ σου ἔγραψά σοι
εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃ λέγω ποιήσεις. ἅμα
δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμαξέ μοι ξενίαν.

Gatrauands ufhouseinai þeina game-
lida þus witands þatei jah ufar þatei
qiþa taujis. bijandzup þan manwei mis
salipwos.

Die Etymologie des hier erscheinenden *bijandzup* ist bisher dunkel gewesen. Uppström glaubte ein Verbum *bijan*, 'zufügen,' annehmen zu dürfen, so dass also das Partizipium *bijands* das temporale Adverbium ἅμα wiedergeben würde. Eine solche Übersetzung sowol als Konstruktion stände aber einzig da in der got. Bibelübersetzung. Man vermisst ein Objekt. Als Parallelen werden 1 Th. ii, 13, und 1 Kor. xvi, 10 angeführt. Dort ist εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως mit *awiliudom guþa unsweibandans*, hier ἵνα ἀφόβως (einige Hss. haben gar ἄφοβος) γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς mit *ei unagands sijai at izwis* übersetzt; dass diese Stellen sich nicht vergleichen lassen bedarf keiner weiteren Erörterung. Das angenommene *bijan* hat keine Entsprechung in den verwandten Sprachen, der Begriff 'zufügen' wird im Got. gewöhnlich durch ein Kompositum von *aukan* übersetzt.

Schon J. Grimm hatte jene Möglichkeit in Erwägung gezogen, indem er (*Gramm.* III, 25) unsere Stelle mit Mt. vi, 17 zusammenbrachte; aber auf derselben Seite deutet er noch eine andere an, die für mich mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit hat: 'dunkel und bedenklich ist *andizuh* (η γάρ), Lc. xvi, 13, vielleicht jenem *bijandzuh* verwandt?' *Andiz* ist Adverbialkomparativ zu *and-* (Léo Meyer, 123, 182, 195; Uhlenbeck, 13. Vgl. *hald-is*, *fram-is* etc. Über den Wandel von *s* zu *z* vgl. Leo Meyer, 195; Braune, 37; Wilmanns, I, 127)—eine Auffassung die nichts bedenkliches hat, da der Begriff 'entgegengesetzt' wol eine Steigerung zulässt. *Andizuh* steht Lc. xvi, 13, notdürftig für das erste Glied des korrespondierenden η — η , worüber ich an anderer Stelle (*Syndet. u. asyndet. Parataxe im Got.* Cött. Diss., 1904, p. 46) gesprochen habe; es bezeichnet ein adversatives Verhältnis, während im griech. Text ein explikatives erscheint. Zu diesem *andizuh* stelle ich also *bijandzuh*. Über das synkopierte *i* der Endung vgl. Grimm, *Gramm.*, III, 589, 590. *Bi-* ist das bekannte in *bi-aukan*, *bi-bindan*, etc. erscheinende und mit der Präposition *bi* identische Präfix, *j* Hiatus vermeidender Sekundärvokal, wie in *freijhals*, II Kor. iii, 17 A; Gal. ii, 4 A; in *saiji*, Mc. iv, 14; II Kor. ix, 6 A, etc. (Wilmanns, I, 157, 200). Die ursprüngliche Form lautete also *bi-andiz-uh*. Das einfache *andizuh* bedeutet einen Gegensatz, *bi-* fügt ihn etwas andern zu, das folgende *kaí* ist durch *þan* wiedergegeben, wie auch sonst.

Gut ist die Übersetzung freilich nicht. Wir haben noch an vier Stellen ein *ἄμα*: I Th. iv, 17 ist *suns* gebraucht, das sonst immer *εὐθέως* oder ähnl. übersetzt; Kol. iv, 3; I Th. v, 10, und I Tim. v, 13 erscheint *samana*. Es bleibt höchst auffällig, dass Wulfila nicht auch Philemon 22 *ἄμα δὲ καὶ* ähnlich übersetzt hat wie an der zuletzt genannten Stelle, *apþan samana jah*. Den Vorschlag den Uhlenbeck (*Beitr.*, xxvii) nach dem Vorgange früherer macht, kann ich nicht akzeptieren: wir sollen, offenbar in Erinnerung an Stellen wie Kol. iv, 3, Mt. vi, 7, *bidjands-* lesen. Aber Mt. vi, 7 ist die einzige Stelle, wo *uh-þan* auf ein Partizipium folgend erscheint: ich vermeide den Ausdruck 'mit einem Partizipium verbunden,' denn ich sehe in dem Unterbleiben des Wechsels von *s* zu *z* grade das Bestreben, die beiden Worte zu trennen. Es ist doch im höchsten Grade gefährlich, wenn man eine Konjektur mit einer Stelle begründet, die selbst eine exzeptionelle Stellung einnimmt. Auch liegt in Kol. iv, 3 gar keine Parallele vor.

G. SCHAAFFS.

REVIEWS.

John Lyly. By JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1905. 8vo. vii + 148 pp.

'That examination [of Lyly's works] which I have now concluded is far too superficial in character to justify a psychological synthesis...this essay cannot claim to have exhausted the subject of the ways and means of Lyly's art';—tels sont les termes dont s'est servi l'auteur pour déterminer la valeur de ses efforts et apprécier les résultats de ses recherches. Et je ne saurais mieux faire que de répéter ces mots pour résumer à mon tour l'impression que j'ai gardée de la lecture de ce livre. Mr Wilson a du talent; il a aussi un bel enthousiasme et un goût littéraire très éveillé; ces qualités combinées lui ont fait entrevoir et attaquer les très nombreux problèmes qui restent à résoudre sur la vie et sur l'œuvre de Lyly; dans certain cas même, l'élan initial a été si fort qu'il a porté l'auteur jusques à deux doigts du triomphe. Mais il est rare qu'après nous avoir entraînés à sa suite, en quête de difficultés à vaincre, Mr Wilson ne nous brûle subitement la politesse, dès que le moment est venu de se colleter avec la difficulté enfin découverte. 'While Lyly's claims as a novelist are acknowledged on all hands,' fait-il observer avec une précision méticuleuse, pleine de promesses, 'I felt that a clear statement of his exact position in the history of our novel was still needed' (p. vi). Mais c'est en vain que l'on cherche dans le chapitre consacré au 'First English Novel' cette 'place exacte' de l'*Euphues*; et l'auteur, ce chapitre une fois terminé, s'aperçoit que 'to attempt to estimate Lyly's position as a novelist and as a prose writer is to chase the will-o'-the-wisp of theory over the morass of uncertainty' (p. 85). En abordant le théâtre, Mr Wilson est repris d'une ardeur nouvelle; il constate que les pièces ont une importance autrement grande que le roman: 'His plays...greatly outweigh his novel both in aesthetic and historical importance' (p. 85). On espère que va suivre l'étude détaillée, complète et définitive qui, en effet, n'a pas encore été écrite sur les Comédies de Lyly: mais sur les 140 pages du livre, 46 seulement sont consacrées à une étude rapide du théâtre; encore devrait-on déduire de ce total 9 pages remplies par une esquisse du drame avant Lyly et quelques truismes sur les *moralités*. Pendant deux pages (102—3), l'auteur montre l'importance de l'allégorie dans la littérature élizabéthaine; et, ma foi, il le fait très bien; mais c'est pour arriver à cette conclusion

déconcertante que 'it is quite possible, however, to read and enjoy these plays without a suspicion of any inner meaning...the superficial interpretation of each play is all that need engage our attention and we shall content ourselves with briefly indicating the actual incident which it symbolises' (p. 104). Après cette déclaration de principe, rien n'est plus facile que d'escamoter le point le plus délicat et le plus difficile de la critique lylienne : l'explication de l'allégorie d'Endimion. Mr Wilson élude le problème d'un seul mot : 'The whole question is one of such obscurity and of so little importance from the point of view of my argument, that I shall not attempt to enter further into it' (p. 109).

Mais nulle part les défaillances de Mr Wilson ne sont plus regrettables que dans le cas de l'euphuisme. Ici encore, il a reconnu que 'no critic, in my opinion, has as yet solved the problem of origins with any claim to finality' (p. 21); il a été séduit par cette question, et, sous le coup de son enthousiasme, il a incontestablement avancé la résolution du problème. D'un bel élan, il a emporté d'assaut les deux positions importantes dont il faut être maître avant de conquérir la vérité. Il a tout d'abord porté un rude coup à la théorie Landmann-Guevara, en montrant que Berners écrivait euphuisme dès 1524, c'est-à-dire cinq ans avant la publication du *Libro Aureo*; que, par suite, l'euphuisme était en germe dans la langue anglaise et qu'il se serait vraisemblablement développé indépendamment de toute influence étrangère. Il a, en second lieu, réaffirmé cette vérité que l'on devait chercher les sources de ce parler dans l'humanisme. Arrivé à ce point, Mr Wilson n'avait qu'un très petit effort à faire pour atteindre à la solution désirée. S'il avait tant soit peu poussé ses recherches, il aurait acquis la preuve que tous les éléments constitutifs de l'euphuisme (antithèse, parallélisme, allitération et rime) se trouvent parfaitement développés, aux environs de 1510, dans More et dans Fisher, pour ne citer que les exemples les plus caractéristiques. Et enfin, il ne fallait pas se contenter d'affirmer, après tant d'autres, que l'euphuisme provenait de l'antiquité, il fallait aussi le prouver. Ici encore, quelques recherches complémentaires suffisaient. Si Mr Wilson avait interrogé les écrivains latins et grecs, il aurait découvert sans peine que l'antithèse, le parallélisme, la rime (soit à la fin, soit au commencement du mot, ce qui revient à dire l'allitération et la rime) et les jeux de mots sont les procédés de style qui caractérisent Gorgias et son école; et que ces procédés n'ont pas cessé d'être les marques distinctives de la prose artistique et ornée dans toute l'antiquité. On les trouve notamment dans Isocrate, Hérodote, Thucydide, Népos, Cicéron, Sénèque, Achilles Tatius, Apuleius &c. &c. Si l'on songe que Isocrate, Cicéron et Sénèque, les trois auteurs chez lesquels ces procédés apparaissent le plus fréquemment, sont précisément les auteurs qui sont le plus lus pendant la Renaissance, en Angleterre, comme dans le reste de l'Europe, bien des mystères s'éclaircissent: quoi de plus naturel que les écrivains anglais, le jour où ils éprouvèrent le besoin d'ornier leur prose encore gauche, aient emprunté des procédés de style à leurs auteurs favoris, auxquels d'ailleurs ils étaient redevables de ce goût pour la prose ornée? Et si les euphuistes anglais offrent

certaines ressemblances avec Guevara, n'est-ce pas pour la simple raison que l'Espagnol et les Anglais étudiaient les mêmes modèles et qu'ils copiaient la même écriture ? Mr Wilson n'a pas voulu aller aussi loin ; il avait pris le bon chemin, mais il s'est arrêté au milieu de sa route et une fois de plus, en terminant son chapitre, il nous a fait entendre la note lasse et découragée : 'No history of its origin [the origin of euphuism] can be completely satisfactory : such questions must of necessity receive a speculative and tentative solution, for it is impossible to give them an exact answer which admits of no dispute' (p. 62). La chose n'est pas impossible avec un peu de méthode et de patience.

Ces échecs successifs ont probablement une cause unique : l'auteur ne semble pas avoir une connaissance suffisamment précise et étendue de l'époque élizabéthaine ; parfois même on se demande s'il a vraiment approfondi les plus élémentaires des questions lyliennes, celle de la biographie par exemple ; car, sans cette hypothèse, on ne s'explique guère le caractère de certaines erreurs que l'on est stupéfait de trouver sous la plume d'un spécialiste de Lyly. Je relève les plus importantes parmi ces erreurs :

p. 6. 'In 1576 we find him writing to his patron Burleigh.' La lettre est, non de 1576, mais du 16 mai 1574, ainsi que l'atteste l'annotation écrite par le secrétaire du Trésorier ; l'interprétation basée sur cette date de 1576 est donc de pure fantaisie.

p. 8. 'These letters show us that he was already connected with this office [of the Revels].' Les lettres à la Reine et à Cecil ne peuvent montrer rien de pareil. Nous connaissons les noms de tous les officiers des Revels pendant le règne d'Elizabeth ; on peut, en particulier, voir au Record Office toutes les nominations des différents Clerks Comptrollers, seule situation qu'on ait pu jusqu'ici attribuer à Lyly. En voici la liste : à Richard Leys avait succédé, en 1571, Edward Buggin (Record Off. Pat. Rolls, xiii Eliz. p. 6, m. 12) ; Buggin occupa le poste jusqu'en 1584, à laquelle date il fut remplacé par William Hunning (Pat. Rolls, xxvi Eliz. p. 13, m. 3). Au mois de juin 1596, Hunning donna sa démission et il eut pour successeur Edmund Pakenham (Pat. Rolls, xxxviii Eliz. p. 7, m. 35 and 36) qui resta en fonctions jusque sous le règne de James. Lyly, on peut donc l'affirmer, n'occupa jamais de poste dans les Revels.

p. 45. Mr Wilson a été fort intrigué de trouver dans Lyly, Watson et Kyd cette même idée que 'the soft droppes of rain pearce the hard marble' ; et il s'est demandé quelle pouvait bien être la source de cette idée. A la page suivante, assez illogiquement d'ailleurs, il semble s'appuyer sur une répétition semblable dans Barnefield pour prouver que l'auteur de l'*Affectionate Shepherd* doit être considéré comme un euphuiste. Cette phrase n'est nullement particulière aux euphuistes ; c'est au contraire un des lieux communs du jargon pétrarquiste. Pétrarque avait dit :

Vivo sol di speranza, rimembrando
Che poco umor già per continua prova
Consumar vidi marmi e pietre salde

(Sonn. ccxxvi. p. 372, ed. G. Mestica) ;

et de nombreux poètes anglais avaient repris l'idée; on la trouve dans Wyatt : *The Lover sendeth his Complaint*; dans un Anonyme de Tottel's Miscellany (ed. Chalmers, ii. 424); dans Whetstone : *Remembrance* (p. 22, Gascoigne's *Steele Glass*, ed. Arber), &c. Pétrarque l'avait lui-même empruntée à l'antiquité, soit à Plutarque (*Educ. Puer.* c. 4), soit à Ovide (*Ars Am.* i. 475—6), soit à Lucrèce (i. 313).

p. 99. '*Campaspe* is one of the first dramas in our language with an historical background.' Parmi les titres des pièces jouées à la Cour avant celles de Lyly, j'en relève plusieurs qui prouvent que les sujets historiques n'étaient nullement inconnus : *Orestes*, *Effigia*, *Ajax and Vlisses*, *Quintus Fabius*, *Mutius Scevola*, *The foure sonnes of Fabyous*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Pompey*, *Timoclia at the siege of Thebes* (laquelle pourrait bien avoir servi de modèle pour *Campaspe*), &c. Mr Wilson ne tient jamais compte, dans ses appréciations, de ce théâtre de Cour. Ce théâtre est aujourd'hui perdu, mais il a existé et il était considérable (on jouait, en moyenne, dix pièces par an). Un critique soucieux de la vérité ne devrait jamais dire que 'true English comedy is not to be found' avant Lyly : nous n'en savons rien.

p. 100. *Campaspe* 'is a remote ancestor of *Hernani* and the XIXth century French theatre.' Il serait difficile d'imaginer deux auteurs dramatiques ayant moins de ressemblances que Lyly et Hugo.

p. 109. 'Mr Bond...is perhaps less convincing where he pairs Endymion with Sidney.' Bond n'a jamais dit une pareille absurdité.

p. 116. Mr Wilson considère que Lyly est l'auteur des chansons habituellement imprimées avec les pièces, 'since the omission in question is fully accounted for by the fact that they were probably written separately from the plays, and handed round amongst the boys together with the musical score.' Cette hypothèse explique, en effet, pourquoi les chansons n'ont pas été publiées dans les in-quarto; mais elle ne prouve nullement que les chansons imprimées par Blount aient été écrites par Lyly. Ce n'est pas avec de pareils arguments que l'on peut résoudre des questions aussi délicates que celle-là : les lecteurs de la *Modern Language Review*, qui ont conservé le souvenir de l'article si précis et si prudent de Mr Greg (je souscris entièrement à ses conclusions), seront de mon avis.

p. 129. 'In Lyly's day drama had not yet been differentiated from masque.' Il doit y avoir là une erreur de rédaction.

p. 133. 'We can see him [Lyly]...seriously announcing to a convulsed assembly his intention of applying for a fellowship...and proposing that the house should go into committee for the purpose of concocting the now famous letter to Burleigh.' Une pareille interprétation de cette lettre pourrait trouver place dans un roman : on s'étonne de la rencontrer dans un livre de critique.

p. 134. Mr Wilson suppose que Lyly quitta le service de De Vere en 1585 'after a sharp quarrel.' Il n'existe pas le moindre document qui permette de supposer que Lyly se querella jamais avec son maître. J'avais tout d'abord pensé que Mr Wilson interprétait ainsi la lettre de 1582; mais il ne peut s'agir de cette lettre, car l'auteur dit ailleurs

(p. 7): 'We have every reason for believing that Lyly was still his secretary...in 1584.' D'ailleurs, il est certain que, en 1587, Lyly était encore au service de De Vere, car, dans un document, daté 10 mai 1587, conservé au Record Office (Close Rolls, 29 Eliz. p. 24), John Lyly est désigné sous le titre de 'servaunte to the righte honorable the Earle of Oxenforde.'

Je passe sous silence plusieurs cas, où Mr Wilson a endossé des hypothèses émises par ses prédécesseurs, sans même en vérifier la possibilité, bien qu'il se serve à tout instant de ces hypothèses pour étayer ses jugements.

Malgré ces imperfections, et bien qu'il soit, dans la plupart des cas, en retard sur les travaux de Mr Bond, ce livre ne sera pas inutile. C'est en somme la première étude d'ensemble sur Lyly, et cela même constitue une étape dans la critique lylienne. En ce qui touche à l'Euphuisme, Mr Wilson peut être fier d'avoir préparé la route pour les études qui suivront. Enfin, si la méthode et le fond donnent prise à la sévérité, je suis heureux de dire combien, au contraire, la forme mérite tous les éloges : Mr Wilson possède le style ardent et coloré auquel se reconnaissent infailliblement ceux qui sont appelés à se distinguer en littérature et je ne serais pas étonné si, un jour, il atteignait à une place très honorable dans la critique élizabéthaine.

ALBERT FEUILLERAT.

On Ten Plays of Shakespeare. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. London: Constable, 1905. 8vo. 318 pp.

A second title of Mr Stopford Brooke's book is 'Lectures on Shakespeare,' and we opine that it was as lectures that the criticisms now published were written. Additions may have been made to them, but they still bear their birthmark. As lectures, they were no doubt charming: as criticisms to be read, they are sometimes unsatisfying. Writing them as lectures, Mr Brooke would seem to have determined to restrict himself closely to Shakespeare's text, and say as little as possible upon the relation which a particular play might bear to some preceding work. And, no doubt, for the immediate purpose this was best. But when we read these lectures at leisure, we feel it to be a defect in Mr Brooke that he shows a play almost solely as a finished work, never in the process of being fashioned by the artist's hand from the stubborn marble. We need only refer to Mr Brooke's treatment of *Richard III* as a thing in itself, without regard to the previous existence of Greek tragedy, of a Machiavelli or a Marlowe, and to his treatment of Ariel as a creation of Shakespeare's brain without any reference to Strachey's account of the wreck of the 'Sea-venture' when 'Sir George Summers being upon the watch had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the main-mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud.' The oddest example of Mr Brooke's unhistorical

method however is his opening passage on *The Merchant of Venice*: 'This play is made up of two separate stories woven together by the dramatist...Both of them came down from ancient times. These are the story of the cruel Jew and his debtor, and the story of the heiress, her suitors, and the caskets. *They seem to have had a kind of chemical affinity for one another*, for it is said that they were combined in a lost play called *The Jew*, acted before 1579.' So far is it from occurring to him that Shakespeare probably treated two stories in combination because he found them already combined to his hand, that we do not doubt that if Dryden had written a later *Merchant of Venice*, Mr Stopford Brooke would have discovered in it a fresh example of chemical affinity.

There is much that is admirable in Mr Brooke's criticism, much that bears the impress of a delicate and sensitive temperament. He gives a beautifully sympathetic account of King Richard II, in which one can only find fault with the note on p. 90, in which he seems to see no difference in tone between Bolingbroke's manly patriotism,

sweet soil, adieu,
My mother and my nurse, that bears me yet,

and Richard's sentimental and patronizing tone,

Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,

followed by

weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth
And do thee favours with my royal hands.

But one comes across many pieces of really helpful criticism. We need only mention the passage on p. 69 beginning 'certain soliloquies must be considered as representing thought, not speech'; the dictum on p. 103, 'the most remarkable thing in Richard III's character, as Shakespeare conceived it, is that he is devoid of the least emotion of love'; the remark about Lorenzo's talk on p. 131—'where love of music is the test of goodness in man, of gentleness in beasts. Pure Renaissance that! pure Florentine!'—his defence of the realistic Porter-scene in *Macbeth*; his remark that Ariel is never brought into contact with Miranda—'she does not seem to know of his existence'—and this other that the conspiracy of Stephano and Trinculo to slay Prospero and be kings of the island 'is the ludicrous image of the conspiracy of Sebastian and Antonio to slay Alonzo, even of the conspiracy in the past which drove Prospero from his throne.'

On the other hand, as is natural, certain views of Mr Brooke's do not commend themselves, at least to us.

There is surely some lack of humour shown in the remark on p. 29; 'Absurd as he [Bottom] is, Theseus and Hippolyta are quite moved by his acting—

The. This passion and the death of a dear friend would go near to make a man look sad.

Hip. Beshrew my heart, but I pity the man.'

Mr Brooke is only saying what many have said before when he writes (p. 162), 'The forest of Arden, by a lucky coincidence of name, puts us in mind of an English forest,' but this association of ideas is surely quite unnecessary. How many Londoners in Shakespeare's time or ours have ever heard of the forest of Arden in Warwickshire? where does the ordinary man encounter it except in books of Shakespeare biography? The forest of Ardennes is, and no doubt was, far better known, and no one who had read Lodge's tale or had followed the earlier scenes of *As You Like It* could suppose the scene to be set in England. When Mr Brooke goes on in his airy manner, 'while he [the poet] is there in his dream, olive-trees slip into the northern forest, and palm-trees receive the love-rhymes of Orlando,' he is again shutting his eyes to the fact that much that is in Shakespeare is not pure inspiration or invention, but taken over from his 'source.'

Mr Brooke's reading of the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth does not quite satisfy us, but we disagree with him most in his treatment of *Coriolanus*. Here he seems to be led away by his democratic sympathies into giving a very strained representation of Shakespeare's attitude towards his characters. 'We are convinced that he had no admiration, but all but contempt for Coriolanus.' 'Shakespeare has made the leaders of the people's cause [i.e. the tribunes] the only hope and trust, and the quiet powers, of the city.' 'The leaders...are represented throughout as men who have kept their heads; cool, temperate, prudent, but resolute to attain their end; and using steadily and ruthlessly the best means for this end.' No word, we see, of disapproval, even when the means used are the calculated exasperation of a noble nature into a betrayal of its weakness.

We do not know if Mr Brooke has any peculiar views on the chronology of Shakespeare's plays. If he has not, it is hard to understand a sentence on p. 66: 'He is passing out of [this temper] in *Coriolanus* and in *Julius Caesar* he has emerged from it.' On p. 299 the first quotation is given incorrectly.

Mr Brooke's style is generally fluid, coloured and charming. Occasionally however he indulges in strange capriccios. What are we to think of the sentence (p. 74), 'Had [this patriotism] not been so damaged by the pirates who took it up eagerly because it so spread-eagled England, it would have come down to us less injured by passages unworthy of Shakespeare's dignity'? or this (p. 122), 'As we read it, we should sit in his soul, below the words'? or this (p. 171), 'There are artists who would *become ill* if they did not relieve themselves of some of the host of conceptions which beset them and call aloud for form'? This metaphor is evidently medical—more we cannot say.

But a writer and critic of Mr Stopford Brooke's eminence must not be treated with profane jesting. All students of English literature owe him much; perhaps no living Englishman has done more to create an intelligent love of our literature in wide circles of our people. In this last book he has not indeed given us anything so sure and masterly and

brilliant as those six short lectures on Shakespeare by Ten Brink, which fill us with ever-new sadness at the premature loss of that wonderful critic: but he has at least given us much that was well worth his printing and is well worth our thoughtful attention.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

Did Shakespeare write 'Titus Andronicus'? A Study in Elizabethan Literature. By J. M. ROBERTSON. London: Watts & Co., 1905. 8vo. xi + 255 pp.

Mr Robertson has attacked one of the thorniest problems of Elizabethan dramatic history with a vigour and thoroughness which cannot but command the deepest respect. His emphatic denial that Shakespeare can have had any considerable hand in the production of the crude and revolting series of horrors which make up the play of *Titus* is supported by a minute knowledge of the plays of the period which gives him an immense advantage over most of the writers who have been recently concerned with the subject, for instance Mr H. Bellyse Baildon. His work, indeed, even when unconvincing, stands yet in most welcome and refreshing contrast to that of the traditionalists, who, in the persons of their foremost representatives, are for the moment, though it is to be hoped only temporarily and accidentally, identified with the school of mere uncritical bluster.

In the course of his study Mr Robertson has dealt severely if humorously with several of the arguments in Mr Baildon's work, but two minor points on which he has not touched are so significant that no excuse is needed for mentioning them here. For one thing Mr Baildon directs several pages of critical irrelevance at the late Dr Grosart for attributing *Titus* to one George Greene. Dr Grosart may have certain literary sins to answer for, but it need hardly be said that this particular absurdity is not among them. Elsewhere Mr Baildon writes, concerning the companies mentioned on the title-pages of *Titus*, 'The change from Essex in [the 1594] edition to Sussex in that of 1600 marks the disgrace and fall of the former ambitious noble.' The 'Essex' of 1594 is universally admitted to be a misprint. No company is known to have acted under the name later than 1578, and Henslowe's alleged reference to 'the Earle of Essex, his men' exists nowhere but in Mr Baildon's imagination.

Mr Robertson's work is far more than a mere study of *Titus*. It is an elaborate investigation into the authorship of that considerable body of anonymous drama vaguely connected with the names of Greene and Peele, but in which it is on general grounds likely enough that Marlowe, Kyd, and Lodge may also have had a share, as well as into the distinctive features of the work of each of these writers. The plays chiefly discussed are naturally *Selimus* and *Locrine*, also *Leir*, *Edward III*, *Alphonsus of Germany*, *Soliman* and *Perseda*, and *Arden of Feversham*.

In discussing the authorship of *Titus* Mr Robertson rightly sets out

from the position: 'There are probably many who, like the present writer, never had the sensation of reading Shakespeare's verse in a single line of it.' On whatever grounds and in whatever sense the question may ultimately be decided, it should be clearly understood that those who demand that the traditional ascription should be subjected to close scrutiny do so on internal grounds of style, and not, as the Shakespearian advocates are fond of pretending, upon any such vague authority as the Ravencroft tradition. They are not likely, therefore, to be impressed by the assertion, with which they are so often favoured, that Shakespeare's hand is patent and manifest throughout the play, and they will heartily endorse Mr Robertson's remark that, 'if the habitual extolling of ineptitudes and commonplaces as "fine" and "Shakespearian" would settle the question, [Professor Collins] and Mr Baildon would have done so many times over.'

The inquiry naturally falls into two sections dealing respectively with the external and internal evidence, both of which are important, though the latter occupies, of course, by far the greater space. There are aspects of the external evidence which have not hitherto been rightly appreciated. Thus Mr Robertson shows that against the two items of evidence in favour of the Shakespearian authorship, the attribution by Meres and the inclusion in the folio, both of which are subject to discount, must be set the fact that the play was regularly published three times during Shakespeare's lifetime without his name, the significance of which has been missed by previous writers, and further that it was originally performed by a company with which Shakespeare was never connected. These points deserve the careful consideration of scholars, even though the writer may at times have strained his argument both in seeking to discount the Shakespearian evidence and in emphasizing that on the other side. Thus it is untrue that 'On no grounds can we say that a bare ascription by [Meres] counts for much more than an ascription by a contemporary publisher,' since his evidence is, at least, disinterested. Again, further acquaintance with the modes of thought general among Elizabethan authors, with which Mr Robertson shows himself a little unfamiliar, may perhaps induce him to modify his view that the fact of Shakespeare speaking of his *Venus and Adonis* in 1593 as 'the first heire of my invention' must be necessarily held to preclude the possibility of his having already been the sole author of acted plays.

It is when we come to the internal evidence that the value of Mr Robertson's method becomes apparent. The diligence with which he has sought out the use of rare words and distinctive expressions or turns of phrase as well as the occurrence of particular thoughts and metaphors in a large field of dramatic literature is beyond praise. It is scarcely necessary to say that his results are of the first importance. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he drives his arguments rather hard. An adverse critic might not unreasonably maintain that he reduces his method *ad absurdum* by demonstrating the presence of everybody's hand in every play. Of course, it need not be supposed

that whenever Mr Robertson says that some phrase points to Peele he means to assert that Peele did actually write the passage in question, though it is not always very clear exactly how far he does intend to go. He certainly appears too fond of supposing a divided authorship. The method he has adopted, and which he applies with much skill, may be of the greatest service in apportioning work where, on independent grounds of style, or on external evidence, a composite authorship is demonstrable, but it must be clearly understood that such demonstration is an antecedent necessity. In the case now before us, that of *Titus Andronicus*, it may well be questioned whether the hand of more than one original author can be traced. Nor is it always easy to accept Mr Robertson's tests as decisive. Some readers will probably hesitate over his ascription of *Sir Clyomon* to Peele, against the view held in common by two such diverse critics as Mr Fleay and Mr Bullen; while others will catch at a doubt expressed by the author himself as to 'whether the hands of [Greene and Peele] can be distinguished,' at any rate upon the lines proposed.

The metrical tests are open to the same criticism. Valuable in themselves, their application leads to far too great a complication in the way of hypothetical collaborations and revisions. To be of any service they require to be applied over a large field; the occurrence of several examples of a metrical peculiarity close together possesses little or no significance. If a poet chances to employ two feminine endings within a few lines the distinctive rhythm which results will unconsciously fix itself in his mind and he will tend to reproduce it. Thus consecutive scenes, especially where the dramatic tone differs, may show very different percentages, and the absence or presence of double endings in speeches of thirty or forty lines cannot be used as an argument for collaboration or revision.

To return to the problem of *Titus*. Even apart from any positive arguments which he is able to adduce in support of a particular attribution, Mr Robertson has little difficulty in demolishing those brought forward in favour of Shakespeare's authorship. Every thought and expression which has been claimed as distinctively Shakespearian is shown to be common to other authors, notably Greene and Peele. The 'poetical' passages, where not contemptible, are yet easily within the reach of the author of *Friar Bacon* and *James IV* even in his less mature years. This is important, for it is difficult to suppose that *Titus*, if written by Greene, belonged to the same period as what may be called his romantic masterpieces. It cannot be dissociated from the crudities of *Alphonsus* and *Orlando*, and must be dated at latest 1590. There is one point, however, to which Mr Robertson has devoted less attention than it deserves, and of which his treatment is less certain. This is the distinctively literary quality, the feeling for language, for the value of words, which writers possess in very different degrees, and which is often curiously independent of their general poetic powers. Greene, in his earlier work at least, is almost entirely devoid of the gift; he habitually uses the most violent word which the sense will

admit with ineffective forcefulness; while Shakespeare, for instance, delights in investing a quite simple and commonplace word with special significance, by placing it in unfamiliar conjunctions. Other authors have this sense of word-value in different degrees. It is possible that Mr Robertson may himself be a little deficient in purely literary feeling—his own style is often surprising—for he finds ‘substantially the same touch’ in the finest speeches of *Edward III* and in certain passages from Greene, where most readers will detect a very different hand. Of Greene’s plays, none but *Friar Bacon* will supply instances of the literary feeling in question, and even here, though one or two of the passages are striking, they are very sparse. Thus:

Love ought to creepe as doth the dials shade;
 Why, thinks King Henries sonne that Margrets love
 Hangs in the uncertaine ballance of proud time?
 And schollers seemely in their grave attire,
 Learned in searching principles of art.

Instances of this artistic use of words are not uncommon in *Titus*. The following examples from sc. i. will serve:

Princes, that strive by *factions and by friends*
 Ambitiously for rule and empery,
 Know that the people of Rome, for whom we stand
 A *special party*, have by common voice, &c.

There greet in silence, as the dead are wont,
 And sleep in peace, slain in your country’s wars!
 O sacred receptacle of my joys,
Sweet cell of virtue and nobility, &c.

Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
 Draw near them then in being merciful.

Of course it does not in the least follow that Shakespeare wrote these lines—there is nothing particularly Shakespearian about them—but surely Greene did not, unless he revised the work at the very end of his life. There are dramatic touches too which seem beyond him, in particular the one really great line in the play, *Titus’ cry*:

When will this fearful slumber have an end?

Here if anywhere is the master hand, and yet it may be remarked that a similar, if less effective, line occurs in the old play of *Leir*—

Am I awake, or is it but a dreame?—

and that it is there introduced in a very similar connection.

Mr Robertson’s own summary of his conclusions is worth quoting. ‘The probability is that between 1590 and 1592 Greene revised or expanded an older play, in which Peele had already a large share; but there is the alternative possibility that Peele revised an old play by Greene and Kyd. The fresh matter, or revision, which in 1594 caused

the play to figure as new, may again have been by Peele, or by Kyd, or by Lodge; but the amount contributed by either of the two last named to the present play is small, though it is somewhat likely that Kyd had a hand earlier in shaping the plot.... Any revision [Shakespeare] gave it appears to have been limited to making the lines scan; and even this is not carefully done.' This last remark, be it said with all respect, is futile. Greene and Peele were perfectly able to make their lines scan if they chose to; it was quite unnecessary to call in Shakespeare, and moreover the actors and the audience probably cared little. But the evidence is, indeed, far too uncertain to support any such elaborate conclusion, though there may be no improbability about any particular portion of it. Of course, if the play was written by Greene, who died in 1592, it must have been revised in 1594, since it then appears as new and contains, moreover, lines from Peele's *Honour of the Garter* of the year before. The opinion to which the reviewer himself inclines is that Peele, who while in some ways inferior to Greene not seldom displays a finer literary sense, was quite capable of writing the whole play. This is certainly the easiest way of accounting for the above-mentioned borrowings, first pointed out by Mr Crawford. In view, however, of the tradition connecting the piece with the name of Shakespeare, it is not impossible to see his hand in certain passages and to suppose that, in a superficial revision, he inevitably here and there introduced a more delicate literary touch, while nowhere condescending to embroider the rotten web with flowers of his own poetic fancy. This revision may conceivably have included the addition of the second scene of Act III, which is found in the folio but not in the quartos, though the language is in no way distinctively Shakespearian. On this supposition, the substance of the play may well have been written by Greene about 1590.

Nevertheless, though it seems impossible to accept Mr Robertson's argument in its entirety, his main conclusions may be recognised as sound, and it must not be supposed from what has been said above, that his treatment of this difficult and involved question is in the least dogmatic. He is probably himself perfectly aware of the weak points in his argument and is not likely to take it in bad part if other students fail to follow him in every train of reasoning. It is to be hoped that his work will have an appreciable effect in bringing critical opinion back to the saner views of Theobald, Johnson, and Malone, from the traditionalist position, which is after all a recent importation from Germany. Meanwhile he has produced a work which is not only of value to the Shakespearian student, but which will prove indispensable to anyone whose work or interest happens to lie in that most chaotic period of the early drama, the decade or so that preceded the publication of *Titus Andronicus*.

W. W. GREG.

Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeares.
 Von WILHELM FRANZ. Heidelberg: Winter, 1905. 8vo. vi + 125 pp.

Dr Franz has with this small volume completed his Shakespearean Grammar, of which the main portion was issued in 1899. The most interesting and instructive portions of the book are those dealing with the spelling and phonology of Shakespeare's works. Here, at least on the phonological side, Dr Franz has had the help of the works of Ellis and Sweet, and if he has not discovered much that is new, he has selected for us the points that are of interest for the student of the language of Shakespeare, separating them from much extraneous matter.

The exceeding variableness of Elizabethan spelling and the fact that we have no printed work of Shakespeare's definitely known to have been revised by him prevent our arriving at any very definite conclusion in matters of orthography. In matters of phonology more can be done. Shakespeare's pronunciation of English was presumably that of most of his contemporaries, and, though it is not likely that the normalisation of speech had been carried so far as in modern literary English, it is probable that there was, at least approximately, a standard of literary speech. What this standard was may be determined with a good deal of accuracy from various grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who deal with the pronunciation of words in their own day. Doubts remain on many points; at times especially there are hints of a struggle between popular tendencies and learned pedantries as to the pronunciation of certain sounds, but in all such cases Dr Franz has set the evidence clearly before us and has left us to draw our own conclusions.

In observing the many differences of pronunciation between English of the seventeenth and English of the twentieth century, one wonders how far Shakespeare, if he were to revisit the stage, would be able to understand his own language on the lips of Tree or Benson, or again how far we should understand a performance of, say *Much Ado*, by the Elizabethan Stage Society, in which its members carried their conservatism to the extent of restoring the phonology as well as the stage-setting of Shakespeare's plays.

The final section dealing with word-composition in Shakespearean English, though sound and scholarly, contains nothing that is strikingly new, and as regards a good deal of the vocabulary of Shakespeare the final word cannot in many cases be said until the *New English Dictionary* has finished supplying us with the material on which to work.

ALLEN MAWER.

The Writings of Matthew Prior. I. Poems on Several Occasions. The Text edited by A. R. WALLER (*Cambridge English Classics*). Cambridge: University Press. 1905. 8vo. xxvi + 268 pp.

There has been no lack of critical interest in Mat. Prior's work, from Johnson's *Life* down to Mr Dobson's sympathetic 'vignette,' but of critical texts it would be hard to say that 'nothing remained to be done.' Mr Dobson has given us a reprint of 'Selected Poems,' and Mr Brimley Johnson a modernized version in the 'Aldine Poets.' Neither of these can be accepted as substitutes for Mat.'s stupendous folio. Probably nothing will take its place, for

Nothing went before so Great
And nothing Greater can succeed,

as its author has said of a certain monarch. But the folio, which would make a better monument to Prior the ambassador at Utrecht than to Prior the best of England's epigrammatists, is difficult to get and to handle. There was therefore a clear opportunity for Mr Waller to supply an accurate text for ordinary men at an ordinary price. This he has done admirably. He professes to give no more than a good text, and he modestly confines his remarks to a short prefatory bibliographical 'note.' The text reproduces all the 'originalities' of the folio—spelling, punctuation, italics, brackets—to the great delight, I am sure, of Mr Dobson. It calls for no criticism beyond the test of its editorial care. That it stands that test is its best praise. The second, and concluding, volume will contain, in addition to the poems which do not appear in the folio, the new matter of the *Prose Dialogues* from Lord Bath's ms. at Longleat.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

The Poetical Works of William Blake. A new and Verbatim Text from the Manuscript, Engraved and Letterpress Originals. Edited by JOHN SAMPSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. 8vo. xxxvi + 384 pp.

The Lyrical Poems of William Blake. Text by JOHN SAMPSON. With an Introduction by WALTER RALEIGH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. 8vo. li + 196 pp.

Though Mr Sampson and Mr Raleigh admit that the inner mysteries of prophet Blake have yet to be unravelled, it must be said that they have done more than all their predecessors to help criticism in its distracting task. Mr Sampson's work is mainly, if not exclusively, textual and bibliographical. He argues for the use of 'd' in some of Blake's participles and for the advantage of preserving the poet's 'wyger' and 'desart'—niceties which Gilchrist and his fellows despised, and which the aesthetic brethren may refuse to be of moment to the message of the mystic. But Mr Sampson has confidence in his accuracy, and he shows that it is not an impertinence. For, apart from the general

reason that a poet's text, when it is available in the original forms, is always the best, there is ample evidence that such details were intended, and that they are often helpful to the reading of the verse. Editorial care has shown that though Blake was defiant of convention in all her kinds, he was not less consistent in his craftsmanship than he can be proved to be in his symbolic revel. The volume contains all Blake's poetical work, the *Poetical Sketches*, the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, the songs from *An Island in the Moon*, and the verses from the Rossetti and Pickering MSS., the Letters, and the *Prophetic Books*—each section being introduced by an excellent historical introduction, and all by a General Preface. The Notes show a scholarly reserve which cannot be too highly commended. When the Editor goes beyond his record of variants, and of the eccentricities of the better known reprints, he does so to explain difficulties by Blake's own words. Nearly all this aid comes from the *Prophetic Books*, with the interesting result that not merely are many obscure places in these books made clear by the parallelisms of the poems, but that a consistency is disclosed throughout Blake's work, where hitherto it had not been found, or even suspected. 'Readers of Blake's simpler poetry only,' says Mr Sampson, 'who, with Mr W. M. Rossetti, turn from the visionary writings after a "hasty and half-shuddering glance," will be ignorant of the consistency with which his self-invented system of mythology is expounded, and the absolute uniformity with which definite symbolical figures are used to express definite conceptions. While Blake has been at little pains to supply the world with a chart of his mental voyagings, it is impossible to study the prophetic writings without becoming aware of the extreme precision of his mystical terminology.'

This idea appears to be the basis of Mr Raleigh's appreciation in the essay prefixed to the little volume of selections which Mr Sampson has also prepared for the Oxford Press. Mr Raleigh maintains that 'an absolute unity of character and purpose runs through all,' and adds sympathetically: 'If he [Blake] has succeeded, here and there, in raising the curtain on the life of things, it is the part of wisdom and modesty to suppose that the rest of his work, which is dark to us, is not devoid of meaning.' Thus has criticism destroyed the old view which made Blake a literary Bedlamite. The obvious difficulties of Blake's text were only a partial excuse for this critical antipathy: the poet had instigated it by his claim to have 'cast aside from Poetry all that is not inspiration.' But, as Mr Raleigh points out, 'a man who dares thus to trust himself cannot but be consistent, for inconsistency lies in inferences and arguments, not in the array of things seen. Blake would not make use of anything borrowed from others.' From this general position Mr Raleigh advances—if I interpret him rightly—to another which is not less helpful to our understanding of the poet. Blake is not only consistent, but he reveals a simple, we might say single, purpose or doctrine, and urges it from first to last, in his poems and letters, and, apparently, in his *Prophetic Books*. He is consumed by hatred of 'generalization' ('To generalize is to be an idiot') and of

'Science,' as he calls Reason and her rules; by it he fights for the free exercise of the 'Divine Arts of Imagination.' This destructive purpose, which he applies to art, morals, and society, has given him the name of anarchist. But anarchist he is not, in the common harsh sense of the word. He is too sympathetic, too constructive in aim, though his process of reaching his end often appears to be but wanton havoc of every convention. His theory of life and art has much in common with Shelley's. Both show the same conception of the *motive* force of poetry; both make the poet a man of action; and both in their seemingly negative attitudes are but endeavouring to remove the shackles which clog that freer *movement* which is to them the one and only positive fact in the whole round of human energy. Mr Raleigh incidentally refers to Shelley when he asks, and briefly answers, the question whether Blake's 'revolutionary theology' is identical with Shelley's. This is but part of a wider question, which, on its aesthetic side alone, would have been pertinent to an edition of Blake's lyrical poems.

It is easy to discover Blake's limitations. There is his unfairness to the classical habit of mind, the result of his ignorance of its meaning as much as of his excessive individualism. It is obvious, as Mr Raleigh points out, that classical discipline 'was exactly what Blake most needed.' In another way, too, the poet has been confounded by his own missionary enthusiasm. In condescending to satire, as an ally in his attack on the encumbrances of 'Science,' he admits the respectability of the conventions which he abhors, and solicits their support. 'Laughter, when it is employed as a weapon, is an appeal to common sense. All genuine laughter implies or invites sympathy, and refers the question at issue to the tribunal of current opinion.'

Mr Raleigh's Introduction is one of the best things which he has written. I hope he will not find in this an 'odious comparison' with his larger efforts. The Introduction interprets as an introduction should, and in companionship with Mr Sampson's selections must remain, for some time to come, the best guide to those who approach with misgiving the weird creator of the philosophers Suction, Quid, and Sipsop and the fair Miss Gittipin.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

Phonetics of the New High German Language. By ARWID JOHANNSON.
Manchester: Palmer, Howe and Co., 1906. 8vo. x + 91 pp.

The feelings with which this conscientious study of modern German pronunciation is likely to be greeted by the English reader will, I fear, be of a somewhat mixed nature, owing to the peculiar character of the English in which it is written. I do not refer so much to the lack of those finer graces of English style which it would be unfair to expect from a foreigner, as to the author's habit of coining new words on the analogy of those in his own language. English written on such lines is only fully comprehensible to those who are familiar both with English

and the native language of the writer. Professor Johannson writes, for instance, 'Consonantism' (= Konsonantismus), 'Vocalism' (= Vokalismus), 'position of indifference' (= Indifferenzlage), 'rubbing noise,' instead of 'audible friction,' apparently an imitation of 'Reibelaut,' 'Occlusion,' was, if I remember aright, used by Wilkins in the seventeenth century, but this hardly justifies the employment of such a pedantic term instead of 'stoppage,' 'closure,' or 'stop.' This indifference to English word-usage will go far to prevent lecturers from using the book as a class-book, a purpose to which it would otherwise have been well adapted.

Apart from these defects, Professor Johannson has performed his task satisfactorily. His book may be welcomed as a set-back to the tendency common at the present day to make things more easy for the student than they have any right to be. This book aims neither at providing for students just the quantum necessary to scrape through an examination, nor at encouraging unduly those who wish to obtain a smattering of the subject in their leisure moments. Professor Johannson, in fact, politely requests such as are unwilling 'to work through the book systematically, to leave it alone.' Phonetics is neither more easy nor more difficult than other scientific studies, but like them, it demands both patience and systematic application.

The scope of the book is pretty well indicated by the title. It is evident that we are not here dealing with a contribution to general phonetic theory, but with an application of such theory to the scientific description of a typical German pronunciation. To the sections which deal with the analysis and synthesis of German sounds are, however, prefixed two shorter and more general ones; the first, introductory and containing a definition of phonetics as a science, a brief indication of the rôle played by the physiological, physical and psychological factors which come into consideration, remarks on the relationship of letter and sound, and so on; the second providing a description of the vocal organs and their function. The remainder falls into the following main divisions: Consonantism, Vocalism, Synthesis, and Accentuation. Very welcome is the importance assigned to the last, although the technical use of the word 'Accentuation' is, of course, to be deprecated; a little more than a third of the whole book is devoted to the phenomena of accent. To the text are added several plates, giving diagrams of the vocal organ and its parts, and of the articulations of various characteristic sounds. Most of the latter are from drawings by the author and will doubtless prove useful, although they are somewhat rough and do not compare very favourably with, for example, those given by Bremer in his *Deutsche Phonetik*.

It is noticeable that in the arrangement of the vowels the author discards the vowel-triangle and adheres to the Bell-Sweet system. The *a* of *da*, *Vater*, which, so far as that system is concerned, is the stumbling-block for most German phoneticians, he finds no difficulty in describing as midback, while recognising a back vowel a degree lower in the first element of the diphthong *au*. On account of its practical

convenience, it is to be hoped that other German phoneticians will yet find means of allocating to the *a* sound—whatever its exact articulation may be—a position in the Bell-Sweet system, and thus remove the principal hindrance which has prevented it in various quarters receiving a theoretical recognition in proportion to its importance in practice.

For normal German the author accepts the standard of the stage, not in classical drama, but in the light society piece ('Konversationsstück,' translated 'elegant drama'!). This differs from the more artificial *Bühnendeutsch* of the classical or serious drama in its closer approximation to educated, colloquial North German, more especially of higher social and official circles in Berlin. It is not surprising therefore that Professor Johannson recognises the velar *r* as the normal pronunciation of that consonant. In this he is undoubtedly supported by the trend of development, not only in North Germany, but practically in all parts of the country. Whether, however, the trend of development will also prove favourable to his recognition of the North German short vowel in words like *Zug*, and the like, is quite another matter. It appears on the whole more likely that Northern speakers will have in this respect to accept *Züg* as normal in the not distant future. The preservation of a short vowel is here a conservative not a progressive tendency, and in such cases it seems, generally speaking, to be the progressive tendency which carries the day.

In most points of theory Professor Johannson has, as set forth in his Preface, 'eliminated all discussions about the numerous phonetical points at issue, in order to give a more practical character to the book, and not increase its volume unduly.' In a book of this scope such a plan pleases by its moderation. It is questionable, however, whether the author would not have done better to indicate at various points what questions are still open. In such cases he follows one authority or the other, without generally stating which. A consequence of this is, that it would be difficult for one not already versed in phonetic literature to gather from the present book what *are* the open questions here dealt with; hence, too, many things are stated as if they were definitely settled, about which there is still room for 'great argument.' There is no doubt that Professor Johannson follows his authorities in such matters by conviction, but it would, on the whole, be fairer to the reader in many cases to indicate where the authorities are not in agreement.

I add a note on one or two minor matters. Page 20: Vowel-alliteration is no proof that Anglo-Saxon had the glottal catch. The assertion to the contrary assumes that vowels cannot alliterate *unless* pronounced with the glottal catch. The incorrectness of this assumption is proved by the fact that vowel-alliteration is still quite common in English poetry. On page 24 we find the statement that English has no voiceless 'prepalatal fricative,' but what about the often quoted examples *hue*, *huge*, etc.? On the same page the author condemns the view that the German *sch* can have a form in which the alveolar articulation is supplemented by the formation of a palatal 'Enge,' for the

reason that 'the combination of these two positions would never produce as result the two basin-shaped hollows essential for *sch*.' Bremer, however, upholds the articulation in question; and, moreover, there is a strong resemblance between Johannson's Fig. XIII (alveolar *ž* and *š*) and Bremer's Abbildung XII (in his *Deutsche Phonetik*) of Zungenspitzen-*sch*. It may further be noted with reference to Fig. XIII that the sound here counterfeited has a decidedly coronal appearance—again in agreement with Bremer—while on page 17 it is stated that *š* and *ž* have, in contrast to *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, dorsal articulation. Page 35: 'džounss' is surely a slip (or misprint?) for 'džounziz'? The final *z* is in the unaccented syllable frequently partially unvoiced, but it never becomes the fortis *s*, much less then the preceding one.

R. A. WILLIAMS.

Studies in Modern German Literature. By OTTO HELLER. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1905. 8vo. x + 295 pp.

Die verdienstliche Absicht des Verfassers ist, dem amerikanischen Publikum Interesse für die neuen Tendenzen unserer Literatur zu erwecken. Hierzu wählt er einerseits die vielbesprochenen 'Dioskuren' des realistischen Dramas, Sudermann und Hauptmann, andererseits die Frauenliteratur. Gegen die Auswahl lässt sich nicht viel einwenden, da ein vierter Hauptpunkt in der neuesten Entwicklung der deutschen Dichtung, die Lyrik, doch schon eine reifere Teilnahme in der Lesewelt voraussetzt.

Der dritte Aufsatz bietet nur einen 'raisonnierenden Katalog' unserer hervorragenderen Schriftstellerinnen, der in dem Namen der Ricarda Huch gipfelt, übrigens weder (S. 259) Marie von Ebner noch von den Vorgängerinnen (S. 241) die Gräfin Hahn gerecht würdigt. Auch die grossen Tendenzen, die die weibliche Literatur unserer Tage trennen, kommen in dieser kurzen Aufzählung nicht deutlich heraus, wogegen die Einzelcharakteristiken—wie dass Hermione v. Preuschen 'coquettishly mystical' sei (S. 267)—meist gelingen. Der französische Ausdruck '*œuvre de longue haleine*' ist (S. 287) falsch verstanden.

Selbständiger sind die beiden anderen Aufsätze. Schon in der Grundauffassung, Sudermann wird (S. 10) als Satiriker aufgefasst; wie zutreffend das ist, haben gerade seine letzten Produktionen bewiesen. Nicht ganz so sicher ist, ob man Hauptmann wirklich durchaus als Lyriker (S. 123) aufzufassen habe. Den Verfasser hindert eine gewisse Entfremdung von deutschen Zuständen und Stimmungen (vgl. z. B. S. 169, Anm.) die Weber (S. 156) oder den Kollegen Crampton (S. 165) nach ihren dramatischen Elementen gerecht zu beurteilen. Dagegen unterschätzt er die *Versunkene Glocke* (S. 186), was ihm übrigens zu interessanten Bemerkungen über ihre Aufnahme in Amerika Anlass giebt. Ebenso stellt er ein ander Mal (S. 52) die Auffassungen einer Sudermann'schen Rolle durch eine englische und eine französische Schauspielerin lehrreich einander gegenüber.

Das Gesamturteil über die literarische Stellung Sudermanns (S. 77, 107 f.) und Hauptmanns (S. 199, 227) entspricht dem, das sich als *communis opinio* gebildet hat, ist aber durch jene spezifische Färbung, die die Satire bei dem Einen hervorhebt und die Lyrik bei dem Anderen, vielleicht besonders geeignet in Amerika Interesse für beide zu erregen.

RICHARD M. MEYER.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition by Mrs F. C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. (Cheaper Reprint.) 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 8vo. 401 and 357 pp.

The German Classics from the Fourth to the Nineteenth Century. With Biographical Notices, Translations into Modern German and Notes. By F. MAX MÜLLER. A new Edition, revised, enlarged, and adapted to Scherer's *History of German Literature* by F. LICHTENSTEIN. 2 Vols. (Vol. II revised by F. L. ARMITAGE.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 8vo. xvi + 710 pp. and viii + 450 pp.

It is a pleasing sign of what, we trust, may be regarded as a reviving interest in German studies in England, that the Clarendon Press has been able, not merely to issue a reprint of Mrs Conybeare's excellent translation of Scherer's *German Literature* at a price within the means of the average student, viz. two volumes at 3s. net each, but also to publish a second edition of the companion volumes, Max Müller's *German Classics*. It is to be regretted, however, that in only one of the four volumes before us, has there been any editorial supervision. While not in favour of the German method of keeping literary histories 'auf der Höhe der Wissenschaft' by tacitly introducing alterations and additions—a process which, for instance, has made it desirable in the case of the last edition of Hettner's *Eighteenth Century*, for those who value Hettner's judgment, to refer occasionally to the previous editions of that work—we think that a few judicious notes in the English Scherer would have been useful to indicate to the student where new facts have come to light and where later research has altered Scherer's dates or rendered his conclusions untenable. The German work, it must be remembered, is already in its tenth edition (1905), and each successive edition has been entrusted to so competent an authority as Prof. E. Schröder.

The revision of the *German Classics*, which has proved in the past, both in England and America, a valuable textbook for students engaged in following courses of lectures on German literature, is limited to the second volume, the first having, as far as we see, been reprinted from the old plates. This is somewhat unfortunate, for it was, after all, the first volume which stood most in need of revision. Even at first, when Max Müller resolved to reissue his pioneer volume of 1858 in the present form, his choice of editor was not very happy; Lichtenstein had no conspicuous qualifications for the task, and his successor, Joseph,

although an admirable and painstaking scholar in a restricted field of Middle High German scholarship, was hardly the man to whom a work demanding catholic tastes and wide sympathies with German literature was to be entrusted. Accepting the original work, however, as satisfactory in 1886, much of it is out of date in 1906. Several of the Old and Middle High German texts stand in need of thorough revision in the light of recent criticism and research; many of the modern German translations might be superseded by more accurate ones, and the bibliographical data of twenty years ago are, needless to say, of small practical use now. Under these circumstances, we think it would have been better had the new edition borne a more explicit statement on the title-page that the work, although dated 1906, is only what the Germans call a new 'Titelausgabe'; it would have obviated the impression which the book is liable to convey, that in matters of German scholarship, we in England are content to lag twenty years behind Germany herself.

The revision of the second volume of the *German Classics* has been entrusted to Mr F. L. Armitage, and to judge from a comparison of the two editions, he has done his work with tact and good taste. He has made a number of judicious omissions, and here and there introduced more felicitous illustrations of a writer's work. Occasionally we are not entirely in agreement with his changes. Instead of the three items representing Heine's work in the old edition, he gives us, for instance, no less than sixteen. Surely this is a concession, of which neither Scherer nor Max Müller would have approved, to the mid-Victorian verdict, which still holds good in certain circles in England, that Heine is the only German poet worth considering since Goethe. We should have been more grateful to Mr Armitage had he repaired a serious omission by inserting a few lyrics of Mörike's. More reprehensible is his omission of Grillparzer's *Esther* fragment, which was both typical of the poet's work and admirably suited for an anthology of this kind; in its place we have a scene from Grillparzer's juvenile tragedy *Die Ahnfrau*. One might as well choose passages from *Die Räuber* as typical of Schiller's dramatic achievement, or from *Titus Andronicus* or *Richard III*, as sole illustration of Shakespeare's. A little more care might have been devoted to the revision of the texts. The plan with which the original editors set out—it was Max Müller's express intention in 1858—was evidently to reprint the specimens in their original form, not in modernised spelling. But they were not very consistent in this matter, and the texts from Schiller, for instance, are more archaic than those from some of his predecessors, such as Gleim, and even Lessing. Nothing has been done to remedy this defect, and even the bibliographical notices—which might have been brought up to date instead of abbreviated—have been retained in an orthography ('Theil,' 'Rath,' 'Lecture' and the like) which is no longer followed in Germany.

These, however, are matters of very minor importance. We are confident that the usefulness of the work will be enhanced by this new

edition, and the reduction in size and price—from half-a-guinea to 5s. 6d.—will ensure it a wide circulation among students of modern German literature who are unwilling to accept their opinions at second-hand.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

The Casentino and its Story. By ELLA NOYES. Illustrated in Colour and Line by DORA NOYES. London: J. M. Dent, 1905. 8vo. xii + 330 pp.

Amid the torrent of illustrated books on Italy with which the English Press has been flooded of late—books, it must be confessed, of varying literary and artistic merit—it is a real pleasure to come across a volume like this. Here sound and solid matter is clothed in good literary form, and a tastefully printed letter-press embellished with pleasing and successful illustrations.

Students of Dante will welcome the sympathetic chapter on 'Dante in the Valley,' but they will not stop there. They will find Dante everywhere: notably in 'Poppi and Campaldino,' and 'The Rock of San Francesco.' The writer brings to her task not only a knowledge of the obvious books (præminent among which will always be Signor Beni's excellent *Guida*), but a cultivated literary taste, a clear judgment, a powerful imagination, and an enthusiasm such as only living contact can enkindle.

Treading day after day in Dante's footsteps she has watched with him the changing seasons and the ever-repeated drama that is played between dawn and sunset, sunset and dawn: and if she does not add anything really new to our *data* for Dante's sojournings in the Valley (who could expect to do that?) she at any rate makes him a living figure in that gracious *ambiente*, and collects and weaves together very happily the passages in his writings which reflect, or seem to reflect, the scenery of the Casentino. Whether or not she is right in identifying the lady of the 'montanina canzone' with that of the 'rime pietrose' and with the 'pargoletta' of Beatrice's censure, and in attributing those lyrics to the sojourn coincident with Henry VII.'s descent into Italy, will remain an open question. But there can be no question at all as to the ability with which the authoress has handled her matter.

LONSDALE RAGG.

Spanish Influence on English Literature. By MARTIN HUME. London: Nash, 1905. 8vo. xviii + 322 pp.

Mr Martin Hume had a magnificent theme, and it is a pleasure to be able to say that where he is dealing with subjects with which he has long been familiar, such as military science and history of the sixteenth century, the average student of mere literary history will have something to learn from him. The elaborate attempt to identify

Shakespeare's Don Adriano Armado with Antonio Pérez, though it does not convince us, strikes us as being the happiest feature of the book. For the rest, signs of haste and carelessness are everywhere apparent: the general arrangement is faulty; repetitions abound; the style, too, is poor. No useful purpose would be served by pointing out the numerous errors of detail that we have noted. The author seems to go wrong in entire chapters. Nothing could well be more clumsy than the two sections in which an attempt is made to connect the early Spanish chronicles, and the Spanish romances of chivalry and pastorals with English literature: here the faults of method are so serious that it is almost inconceivable how any historian of repute, who should be accustomed to examine cause and effect, could have been guilty of them. When so many points are laboured, which might well have been left out altogether, it is strange to note serious omissions: for example, there is no mention of Gracián! What shall we say of the absence of a bibliography in a work of this kind? Was Mr Hume, when dealing with the picaresque novel, acquainted with the treatises of De Haan and Chandler; or, to take a wider field, are we to assume that Underhill's *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* was known to him? Unfortunately he is frequently wanting in knowledge of general European literature, especially where the Middle Ages are concerned: various *genres* are dealt with as being peculiar to Spain, which were common to, and appeared earlier in, other countries. All that can honestly be said of the volume is that it contains a certain amount of material uncritically put together: it remains for some scholar to digest a portion of this material, let much of it go by the board and add to it from fresh sources.

H. OELSNER.

The Life of Cervantes. By ALBERT F. CALVERT. London: John Lane. 1905. 8vo. x + 139 pp.

The body of this book in no way advances our knowledge of Cervantes and his works: it is not distinguished by accuracy of detail, and from the standpoint of literary criticism its value is nil. There is much display of learning in the bibliographical section, and much lack of knowledge and judgment. Thus the list of English versions contains no mention of the three modern editions of Shelton's translation. What purpose can be served by a 'list of bibliographies of Cervantes' in an elementary book of this kind? Then, again, there is a 'chronological repertoire of documents relating to the life of Cervantes,' which is compiled in the most arbitrary way. One column is devoted in each case to the 'first publisher.' Pérez Pastor occurs twenty-one times; but quite apart from the fact that the very 'general' reader for whom the book is obviously intended, is not told in this (or any other) case where the 'first publisher' printed the documents in question, there is nothing to show on what principle these 21 have been selected from the 111 more or less valuable ones unearthed by this diligent scholar. In

spite of these and many other faults, Cervantists may like to have the book on account of the portraits, illustrations and facsimiles of early title-pages it contains: some of these are full of interest; but even here too much reliance must not be placed on the author's descriptions, which are mostly inadequate and amateurish, and sometimes wrong. The whole is as flagrant an example of book-making as it has been our lot to come across.

H. OELSNER.

An outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal. By C. H. GRANDGENT. (Heath's Modern Language Series.) Boston: D. C. Heath, 1905. 8vo. xi + 159 pp.

This volume is stated by the author to be 'the result of desultory labours extending through a period of twenty years,' and is based upon the most reliable authorities. It gives evidence also of wide and careful study of texts, and should be found highly valuable by all who are interested in the study of Old Provençal. Not only is it capable of becoming a useful guide to the beginner, but it also may prove serviceable upon occasion to the advanced student, if only for the references given to the literature of the subject which is scattered in large part through various periodicals not readily accessible to everyone. It is to be wished, upon this account, that the author could have seen his way to extend the number of these references: however, the book gives a great deal of accurate information in a comparatively small space.

In the Phonological section, the method followed is naturally that of taking the Vulgar Latin sounds as a starting-point and examining their development in Provençal. In § 11 the author might either have stated Suchier's law or have given his reasons for passing it over. With §§ 28 and 92 he will no doubt be interested to compare the article by A. Thomas in the January number of *Romania*. In § 100 *cors* and *cor* are not always so clearly differentiated as the author states. On the formation of the future and conditional a reference might have been given to a paper by Karl Foth in *Romanische Studien*, vol. i. These trifles in no way detract from the value of the book, which is well arranged and well printed: there is a commendable absence of misprints.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

Histoire poétique de Charlemagne. Par GASTON PARIS. Reproduction de l'édition de 1865 augmentée de notes nouvelles par l'auteur et par M. P. MEYER. Paris: H. Champion, 1905. 8vo. 507 pp.

The original edition of the *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne* was prepared as a doctor's thesis for the University of Paris in 1865. The work was immediately acclaimed as of unique value, both as an object lesson in method and as a contribution to specific knowledge; it took rank as a classic, and scholars are not wanting who believe that it is its

author's masterpiece. The original edition was soon exhausted, and for nearly thirty years the book has appeared but rarely in second-hand catalogues, and has brought a high price. Gaston Paris intended to issue a second edition, and made from time to time notes towards that end. His purpose failed of fulfilment because of the manifold interests which more and more absorbed the leisure of his last years. His life-long friend and associate, M. P. Meyer, has generously laid aside for a space his own numerous philological enterprises, and has given us the much-needed second edition. M. Meyer has added to the notes of Paris a number of carefully chosen notes of his own, and has had prepared a serviceable index, the lack of which was one of the grave defects of the first edition. It was manifestly impossible to give all the bibliography concerning the many theories, literary monuments and poetic personages mentioned in the five hundred and seven pages of the work. M. Meyer was thus forced to make a selection in his bibliographical notes. He has done this with such sure judgment and ripe scholarship that none but a carping critic could find fault with him. In view of the established reputation of the *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, it is hardly necessary to do more here than draw the attention of scholars to this new edition.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

MINOR NOTICES.

The Legend of Fair Helen as told by Homer, Goethe and Others. By EUGENE OSWALD. London: Murray, 1905. 8vo. xii + 211 pp.

The author of this volume appears to have been induced by the study of the second part of Goethe's *Faust* to bring together the most notable instances of the artistic treatment of the Helen legend in different ages and countries. The net is cast very wide, as we hear not only of those who have dealt with the subject, but also of those who might have done so (p. 192 f.). The book falls into three parts: the first traces progressively the various stages in the life of Helen, as portrayed by different poets and artists, the meeting of Helen and Paris being, for instance, illustrated from Ovid, Thomas Heywood, Leconte de Lisle and Landor; the second follows the history of the legend chronologically. Either of these schemes, if adhered to systematically, might have furnished an admirable framework for the mass of bibliography and illustration which the author has collected, but between the two we get a great deal of repetition. The third part, the 'Epilogue,' contains what the author calls a 'little aftermath,' in which a number of miscellaneous references to Helen are gathered together. The book contains much that is interesting, but suffers from the lack of methodical arrangement.

H. G. A.

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Von MAX KOCH. 6te. neu durchgesehene Auflage. (*Sammlung Götschen*, xxxi.) Leipzig: Götschen, 1906. 8vo. 294 pp.

Professor Koch's History of German Literature in the well-known *Sammlung Götschen* is a survey of a very wide field in a comparatively small space. In consequence of the large number of names included, the treatment of even important works is, of necessity, very brief; but the author takes up a disproportionate amount of the available space in emphasising his personal views as to the relative importance of certain authors. Thus he occupies two of his 294 pages in denying to Hauptmann all true poetic and dramatic talent, only one to prove that Sudermann possesses both in a high degree, and rather less to maintain that Schnitzler is a greater dramatist than either. For Kretzer he claims a place in the front rank of modern novelists. The intrusion of such views, however interesting they may be as an expression of subjective opinion, seems to us to place at a grave disadvantage a book which is obviously designed for the use of learners. H. G. A.

Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio. Da F. D'OVIDIO. Milan: Hoepli, 1906. 8vo. xvi + 634 pp.

Professor D'Ovidio's name is too well-known to need introduction; and those who take up this new volume, and essay to mount the hill of Purgatory under his guidance will not be disappointed. They will find the accustomed beauty and clearness of style, the wide erudition and the devotion, at once sane and enthusiastic, to Dante and his poem, which are associated with the writer's name. The first 147 pages are an elaborate exposition of the first canto, a running commentary more or less of the nature of a 'talk,' like Vernon's *Readings*, in which the commentator has sacrificed willingly all literary effect to the supreme aim of every true commentator. The second part (pp. 151—607) deals with various aspects of the *Purgatory*—its 'moral geography,' its relation to the *Inferno*, and, in fact, with almost every question that arises as one reads and studies the 'seconda cantica.' Manfredi, Sordello, Bellacqua, Stazio and Matelda are fully treated in this second part, as is Catone—the Cato of history and of Lucan and the Cato of Dante—in the first. The short preface contains a graceful little personal anecdote as charming as anything in the book itself.

L. R.

The Library of Harvard University has just issued a 'Catalogue of the Molière Collection in Harvard College Library, acquired chiefly from the Library of the late Ferdinand Bôcher' (*Bibliographical Contributions*, edited by W. C. Lane, No. 57). The Catalogue, which has been compiled by T. F. Currier and E. L. Gay, is a model of what such special catalogues ought to be, and a 'bibliographical contribution' which no Molière scholar can afford to overlook. It contains appendices on the Portraits of Molière, English Imitations and Translations of Molière's Plays and Tables showing the Contents of the Editions and Translations of the Collected Works.

Professor W. H. WILLIAMS writes to us with reference to the review of his *Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama* on p. 137 f. of the present volume of the *Modern Language Review*: 'Mr Greg contrasts my *Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama* with Mr Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*, from which it differs entirely in method, scope and intention. He further complains that there is "a serious gap" between the two works, assuming that the one was intended to be a sequel to the other. As a matter of fact, there is no very "serious gap" between the year 1580, with which my book begins, and 1579, with which Dr Skeat's *Specimens of English Literature* ends. I modelled my *Specimens* closely on Dr Skeat's in method and arrangement, feeling it to be a great honour to be permitted to continue, however unworthily, the lines he had so ably laid down. Then Mr Greg somewhat invidiously remarks that "from Mr Pollard's volume the student can obtain a very fair knowledge of the religious and didactic drama of England," but that "no such knowledge of the later drama can be gained" from my *Specimens*. In answer, I can only refer Mr Greg to my Preface, in which I state my aim to be "to convey to the reader who, for one reason or another, is unable to study the collected works of the Elizabethan dramatists, a fair general impression of their average style and spirit."

[I am sorry if I have unwittingly done Professor Williams an injustice, but I cannot regard my remarks on his *Specimens* as in any way unfair. Whether he or the Clarendon Press was responsible I do not pretend to say. I had reason to know that the Press had at one time contemplated dealing with the later drama on the same lines as the earlier, and when there appeared a volume of selections from that later drama to all appearances intended as a companion to Mr Pollard's work, the connection seemed obvious. The comparison with Professor Skeat's *Specimens*, on the other hand, a collection which includes prose, verse and drama from 1394 to 1579, and of which the prime intention is surely linguistic, hardly suggests itself. I may have been hasty in assuming that a volume of 'Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama' was intended to illustrate the development of the kind, but if it was not, I can only regard it as the more unsatisfactory, as tending to concentrate attention upon the peculiarities of writers as individual phenomena rather than upon the connected history of the drama as a literary growth.

W. W. GREG.]

NOTE RECTIFICATIVE.—J'ai écrit dans le numéro iii de la *Modern Language Review*, p. 254, que M. Thomas avait renoncé à l'étymologie donnée par lui en 1868 dans les *Mém. Soc. Antiq. de l'Ouest*. En réalité c'est en 1902, dans ses *Mélanges d'Étymologie Française* qu'il l'avait proposée (voir *nivaria*, p. 93). Pour ce lapsus, qui lui attribuait un excédent d'années considérable, je prie l'éminent philologue d'agréer mes plus vives excuses.

L. BRANDIN.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1906.

GENERAL.

(a) *Language.*

- ABEL, C., Über Gegensinn und Gegenlaut in den klassischen, germanischen und slavischen Sprachen. 2. Heft. Frankfort, Diesterweg. 1 M. 20.
HAPPEL, J., Laut- und Schriftkunde. Bildung und Bezeichnung der Sprachlaute des Menschen. Antwerp, Ackermann. 16 M.
LA GRASSERIE, R. DE, Études de linguistique et de psychologie. Paris, Leroux. 6 fr.

(b) *Literature.*

- ALEXANDER, H. B., Poetry and the Individual. New York, Putnam. 1 dol. 50. net.
HUNT, T. W., Literature: its principles and problems. New York, Funk and Wagnalls. 1 dol. 20.
Kappstein, Th., Ahasver in der Weltpoesie. Studien zur Religion in der Literatur. Berlin, Reimer. 3 M.
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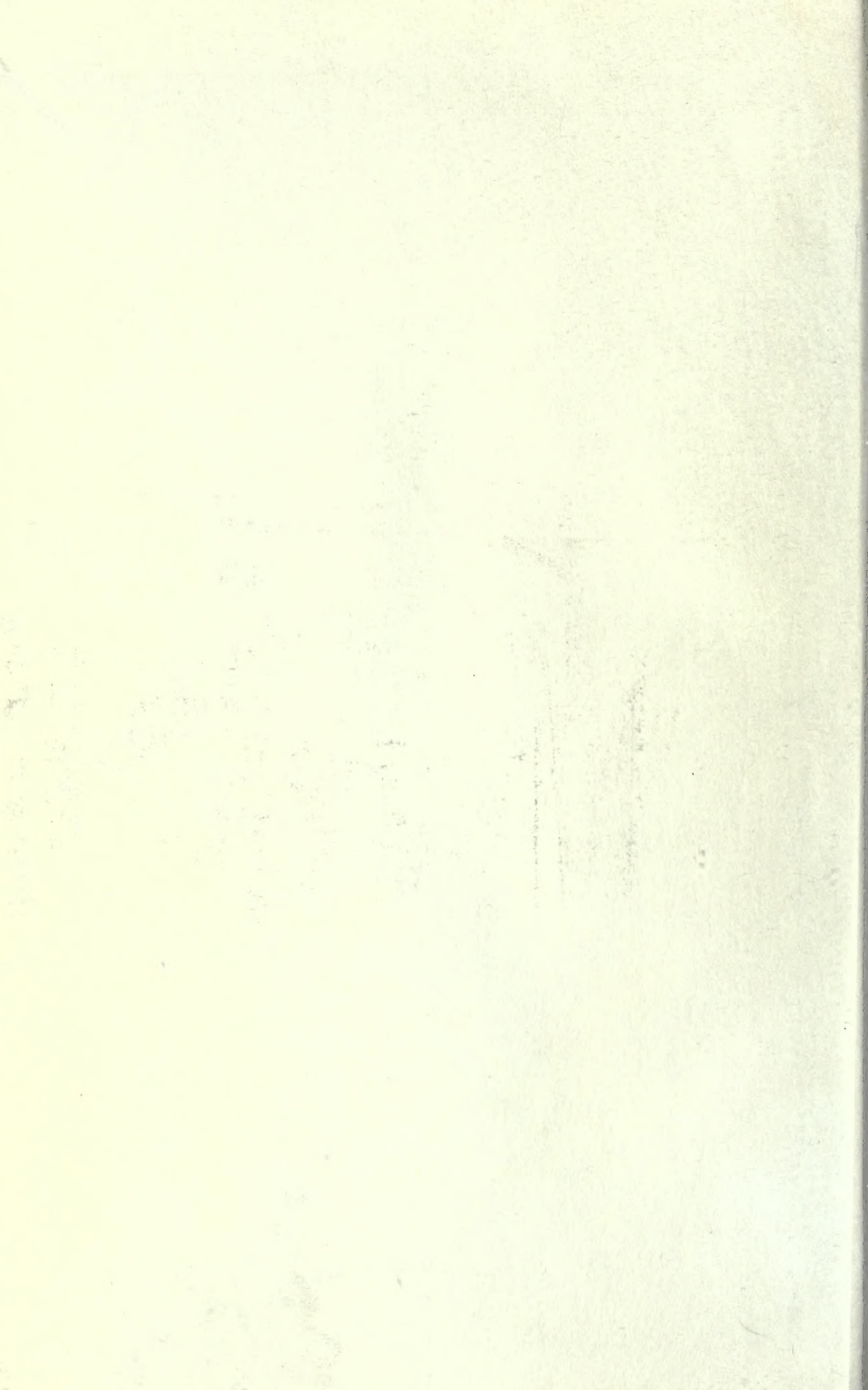
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